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PLUTARCH'S

L I V E S,

TRANSLATED FROM THE

ORIGINAL GREEK;

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND A

NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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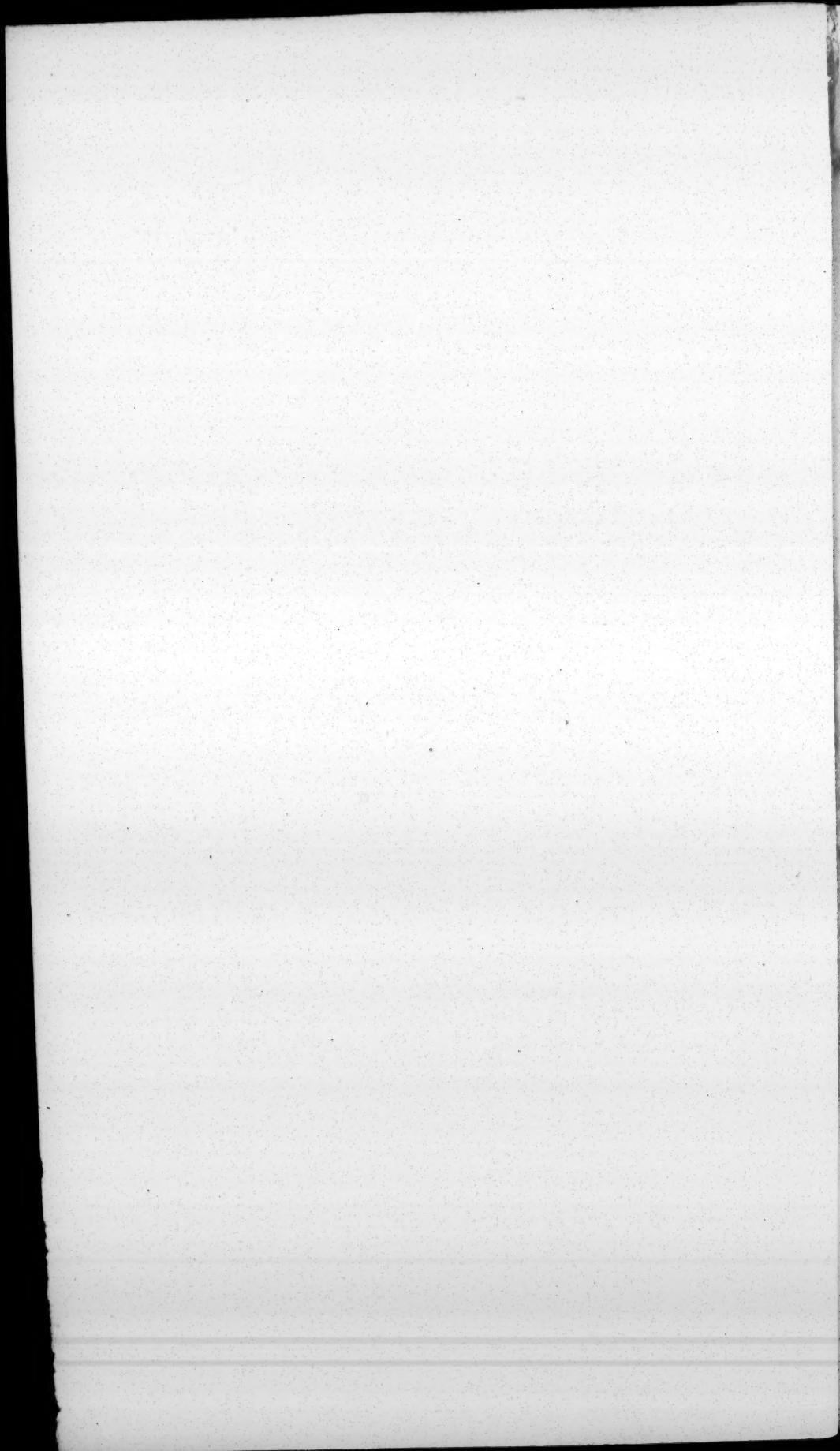
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

FABIUS MAXIMUS.

SUCH were the memorable actions of Pericles*, as far as we have been able to collect them; and now we proceed to the life of Fabius Maximus.

The first Fabius was the son of Hercules by one of the nymphs, according to some authors; or, as others say, by a woman of the country, near the river Tyber. From him came the family of the Fabii, one of the most numerous and illustrious in Rome†. Yet some authors write, that the first founders of this family were called *Fodii*‡, on account of their catching wild beasts by means of *pits*; for a *pit* is still in Latia called *fovea*, and the word *fodere* signifies *to dig*: but in time two letters being changed, they had the name of *Fabii*. This family produced many eminent men, the most considerable of whom was *Rullus*||,

* *ως παρειληφαντες.*

† The most numerous, for that family alone undertook the war against the Veientes, and sent out three hundred and six persons of their own name, who were all slain in that expedition. It was likewise one of the most illustrious; for the Fabii had borne the highest offices in the state, and two of them had been seven times consuls.

‡ Pliny's account of the matter is much more probable, *viz.* that they were called *Fabii*, *a Fabis*, from their skill in raising beans; as several other families of note among the Romans were denominated from other branches of husbandry. Indeed, their first heroes tilled the ground with their own hands.

|| This Fabius Rullus was five times consul, and gained several important victories over the Samnites, Tuscans, and other nations. It was not, however, from these great actions that he obtained the surname of *Maximus*, but from his behaviour in the censorship; during which he reduced the populace of Rome into four tribes, who before were dispersed among all the tribes in general, and by that means had very great power in the assemblies. These were called *Tribus Urbane*. *Liv. lib. ix. cap. 46.*

by the Romans surnamed *Maximus*, or *the great*, and from him the Fabius Maximus of whom we are writing, was the fourth in descent.

This last had the surname of *Verrucosus* from a small wart on his upper lip. He was likewise called *Ovicula** from the mildness and gravity of his behaviour when a boy. Nay, his composed demeanour, and his silence, his caution in engaging in the diversions of the other boys, the slowness and difficulty with which he took up what was taught him, together with the submissive manner in which he complied with the proposals of his comrades brought him under the suspicion of stupidity and foolishness, with those that did not thoroughly know him. Yet a few there were who perceived that his composedness was owing to the solidity of his parts, and who discerned withal a magnanimity and lion-like courage in his nature. In a short time, when application to business drew him out, it was obvious even to the many, that his seeming inactivity was a command which he had of his passions, that his cautiousness was prudence, and that what had passed for heaviness and insensibility was really an immoveable firmness of soul. He saw what an important concern the administration was, and in what wars the republic was frequently engaged, and therefore by exercise prepared his body, considering its strength as a natural armour; at the same time he improved his powers of persuasion, as the engines by which the people are to be moved; adapting them to the manner of his life. For in his eloquence there was nothing of affectation, no empty† plausible elegance, but it was full of that good sense which was peculiar to him, and had a sententious force and depth, said to have resembled that of Thucydides. There is an oration of his still extant, which he delivered before the people on occasion of his son's funeral, who died after he had been consul.

Fabius Maximus was five times consul‡; and in his first consulship was honoured with a triumph for the victory he gained over the Ligurians; who being defeated by him in a set battle, with the loss of a great number of men, were driven behind the Alps, and kept from such incursions and ravages as they had used to make in the neighbouring provinces.

* Ovicula signifies *a little sheep*.

† The writers that affect this, Plato calls *λογιδαιδαρος*.

‡ Fabius was consul the first time in the year of Rome 521; and the fifth time, in the tenth year of the second Punic war, in the year of Rome 545.

Some years after, Hannibal having invaded Italy*, and gained the battle of Trebia, advanced through Tuscany, laying waste the country, and striking Rome itself with terror and astonishment. This desolation was announced by signs and prodigies, some familiar to the Romans, as that of thunder for instance, and others quite strange and unaccountable. For it was said, that certain shields sweated blood, that bloody corn was cut at Antium, that red-hot stones fell from the air, that the Falerians saw the heavens open, and many billets fall †, upon one of which these words were very legible, *Mars brandisheth his arms.* But Caius Flaminus, then consul, was not discouraged by any of these things. He was indeed naturally a man of much fire and ambition, and besides was elated by former successes which he had met with contrary to all probability; for against the sense of the senate and his colleague, he had engaged with the Gauls and beaten them. Fabius likewise paid but little regard to prodigies †, as too absurd to be believed, notwithstanding the great effect they had upon the multitude. But being informed how small the numbers of the enemy were, and of the want of money, he advised the Romans to have patience; not to give battle to a man who led

* Here Plutarch leaves a void of fifteen years. It was not indeed a remarkable period of the life of Fabius. Hannibal entered Italy in the year of Rome 535. He defeated Scipio in the battle of Ticinus, before he beat Sempronius in that of Trebia.

† Plutarch misunderstood Livy, and of the two prodigies which he mentions, made but one. Livy says, “At Falerium the sky was seen to open, and in the void space a great light appeared. The lots at Præneste shrunk of their own accord, and one of them dropped down, whereon was written, *Mars brandisheth his sword.*” Liv. lib. xxii.—These lots were bits of oak handsomely wrought, with some ancient characters inscribed upon them. When any came to consult them, the coffer in which they were kept was opened, and a child having first shaken them together, drew out one from the rest, which contained the answer to the querist’s demand. As to the lots being shrunk, which Livy mentions, and which was considered as a bad omen, no doubt the priests had two sets, a smaller and a greater, which they played upon the people’s superstition as they pleased. Cicero says they were very little regarded in his time. Cic. de Divinat. lib. ii.

‡ If Fabius was not moved by those prodigies, it was not because he despised them (as his colleague did, who according to Livy, neither feared the gods nor took advice of men), but because he hoped by appeasing the anger of the gods, to render the prodigies ineffectual. It was not Fabius, however, but Cn. Servilius Geminus, who was colleague to Flaminus.

on an army hardened by many conflicts for this very purpose, but to send succours to their allies, and to secure the towns that were in their possession, until the vigour of the enemy expired of itself, like a flame for want of fuel.

He could not, however, prevail upon Flaminus. That general declared he would never suffer the war to approach Rome, nor like Camillus of old, dispute within the walls, who should be the master of the city. He, therefore, ordered the tribunes to draw out the forces, and mounted his horse, but was thrown headlong off *, the horse without any visible cause being seized with a fright and trembling. Yet he persisted in his resolution of marching out to meet Hannibal, and drew up his army near the lake called Thrasymenus, in Tuscany.

While the armies were engaged, there happened a* earthquake, which overturned whole cities, changed the course of rivers, and tore off the tops of mountains; yet not one of the combatants was in the least sensible of that violent motion. Flaminus himself, having greatly signalized his strength and valour, fell; and with him the bravest of his troops; the rest being routed, a great carnage ensued: full fifteen thousand were slain, and as many taken prisoners †. Hannibal was very desirous of discovering the body of Flaminus, that he might bury it with due honour, as a tribute to his bravery, but he could not find it, nor could any account be given what became of it.

When the Romans left the battle of Trebia, neither the

* This fall from his horse, which was considered as an ill omen, was followed by another as bad. When the ensign attempted to pull his standard out of the ground in order to march, he had not strength enough to do it. But where is the wonder, says Cicero, to have a horse take fright, or to find a standard-bearer feebly endeavouring to draw up the standard which he had perhaps purposely struck deep into the ground?

† Now the lake of Perugia.

† Notwithstanding this complete victory, Hannibal lost only fifteen hundred men; for he fought the Romans at great advantage, having drawn them into an ambuscade between the hills of Cortona and the lake Thrasymenus. Livy and Valerius Maximus make the number of prisoners only six thousand; but Polybius says, they were much more numerous. About ten thousand Romans, most of them wounded, made their escape, and took their route to Rome, where few of them arrived; the rest dying of their wounds before they reached the capital. Two mothers were so transported with joy, one at the gate of the city, when she saw her son unexpectedly appear, and the other at home, where she found her son, that they both expired on the spot.

generals sent a true account of it, nor the messenger represented it as it was: both pretended the victory was doubtful. But as to the last, as soon as the prætor Pompeius was apprised of it, he assembled the people, and without disguising the matter in the least, made this declaration: “ Romans, we have lost a great battle, our army is cut to pieces, and Flaminius the consul is slain; think, therefore, what is to be done for your safety.” The same commotion which a furious wind causes in the ocean, did these words of the prætor produce in so vast a multitude. In the first consternation they could not fix upon any thing: but at length all agreed that affairs required the direction of an absolute power, which they called the dictatorship, and that a man should be pitched upon for it, who would exercise it with steadiness and intrepidity. That such a man was Fabius Maximus, who had a spirit and dignity of manners equal to so great a command, and besides was of an age in which the vigour of the body is sufficient to execute the purposes of the mind, and courage is tempered with prudence.

Pursuant to these resolutions, Fabius was chosen dictator*, and he appointed Lucius Minucius his general of the horse †. But first he desired permission of the senate to make use of a horse when in the field. This was forbidden by an ancient law, either because they placed their greatest strength in the infantry, and therefore chose that the commander in chief should be always posted among them; or else because they would have the dictator, whose power in all other respects was very great, and indeed arbitrary, in this case at least appear to be dependent upon the people. In the next place, Fabius, willing to show the high authority and grandeur of his office, in order to make the people more tractable and submissive, appeared in public with twenty-four *lictors* carrying the *fasces* before him; and when the surviving consul met him, he sent one of his officers to order him to dismiss

* A dictator could not be regularly named but by the surviving consul, and Servilius being with the army, the people appointed Fabius by their own authority with the title of prodictator. However, the gratitude of Rome allowed his descendants to put dictator instead of prodictator, in the list of his titles.

† According to Polybius and Livy, his name was not Lucius but Marcus Minucius; nor was he pitched upon by Fabius, but by the people.

his *liators* and the other ensigns of his employment, and to join him as a private man.

Then beginning with an act of religion, which is the best of all beginnings *, and assuring the people that their defeats were not owing to the cowardice of the soldiers, but to the general's neglect of the sacred rites and auspices, he exhorted them to entertain no dread of the enemy, but by extraordinary honours to propitiate the gods. Not that he wanted to infuse into them a spirit of superstition, but to confirm their valour by piety, and to deliver them from every other fear by a sense of the Divine protection. On that occasion he consulted several of those mysterious books of the Sybils, which contained matters of great use to the state; and it is said, that some of the prophecies found there perfectly agreed with the circumstances of those times: but it was not lawful for him to divulge them. However, in full assembly, he vowed to the gods a *ver sacrum*, that is, all the young which the next spring should produce, on the mountains, the fields, the rivers and meadows of Italy, from the goats, the swine, the sheep, and the cows. He likewise vowed to exhibit the great games in honour of the gods, and to expend upon those games three hundred and thirty-three thousand *sesterces*, three hundred and thirty three *denarii*, and one third of a *denarius*; which sum in our Greek money is eighty-three thousand five hundred and eighty-three *drachmas* and two *oboli*. What his reason might be for fixing upon that precise number is not easy to determine, unless it were on account of the perfection of the number three, as being the first of odd numbers, the first of plurals, and containing in itself the first differences, and the first elements of all numbers.

Fabius having taught the people to repose themselves on acts of religion, made them more easy as to future events. For his own part, he placed all his hopes of victory in himself, believing that heaven blesses men with success on account of their virtue and prudence; and therefore he watched the motions of Hannibal, not with a design to give him battle, but by length of time to waste his spirit and vigour, and gradually to destroy him by means of his superiority in men and money. To secure himself against the enemy's horse, he took care to encamp above them on high and

* *καλλιγενης αεχομενος εκ δεων αεχην*—.

† This vow had formerly been made to Mars by Aulus Cornelius, and neglected.

mountainous places. When they sat still, he did the same ; when they were in motion, he showed himself upon the heights, at such a distance as not to be obliged to fight against his inclination, and yet near enough to keep them in perpetual alarm, as if, amidst his arts to gain time, he intended every moment to give them battle.

These dilatory proceedings exposed him to contempt among the Romans in general, and even in his own army. The enemy, too, excepting Hannibal, thought him a man of no spirit. He alone was sensible of the keenness of Fabius, and of the manner in which he intended to carry on the war, and therefore was determined, if possible, either by stratagem or force, to bring him to a battle, concluding that otherwise the Carthaginians must be undone ; since they could not decide the matter in the field, where they had the advantage, but must gradually wear away, and be reduced to nothing ; when the dispute was only who should be superior in men and money. Hence it was that he exhausted the whole art of war ; like a skilful wretcher, who watches every opportunity to lay hold of his adversary. Sometimes he advanced, and alarmed him with the apprehensions of an attack ; sometimes by marching and counter-marching, he led him from place to place, hoping to draw him from his plan of caution *. But as he was fully persuaded of its utility, he kept immovably to his resolution. Minucius, his general of horse, gave him, however, no small trouble by his unseasonable courage and heat, haranguing the army, and filling them with a furious desire to come to action, and a vain confidence of success. Thus the soldiers were brought to despise Fabius, and by way of derision to call him the *pedagogue* of Hannibal †, while they extolled Minucius as a great man, and one that acted up to the dignity of Rome. This led Minucius to give a freer scope to his arrogance and pride, and to ridicule the dictator for encamping constantly upon the mountains, “As if he did it on purpose that his men might more clearly behold Italy laid waste with fire and sword.” And he asked the friends of Fabius, “Whether he intended to “take his army up into heaven, as he had bid adieu to “the world below, or whether he would screen himself

* Εξησται ταν ιππεο της ασφαλειας λογισμων Συλλογενος.

† For the office of a pedagogue of old was (as the name implies) to attend the children, to carry them up and down, and conduct them home again.

" from the enemy with clouds and fogs?" When the dictator's friends brought him an account of these aspersions, and exhorted him to wipe them off by risking a battle, " In that case," said he, " I should be of a more daftardly spirit than they represent me, if, through fear of insults and reproaches, I should depart from my own resolution. " But to fear for my country is not a disagreeable fear. " That man is unworthy of such a command as this, who shrinks under calumnies and flanders, and complies with the humour of those whom he ought to govern, and whose folly and rashness it is his duty to restrain."

After this, Hannibal made a disagreeable mistake. For intending to lead his army farther from Fabius, and to move into a part of the country that would afford him forage, he ordered the guides, immediately after supper, to conduct him to the plains of Casinum*. They taking the word wrong, by reason of his *barbarous* pronunciation of it, led his forces to the borders of Campania, near the town of Casalimum, through which runs the river Lothronus, which the Romans call Vulturnus. The adjacent country is surrounded with mountains, except only a valley that stretches out to the sea. Near the sea the ground is very marshy, and full of large banks of sand, by reason of the overflowing of the river. The sea is there very rough, and the coast almost impracticable.

As soon as Hannibal was entered into this valley, Fabius availing himself of his knowledge of the country, seized the narrow outlet, and placed in it a guard of four thousand men. The main body of his army he posted to advantage on the surrounding hills, and with the lightest and most active of his troops, fell upon the enemy's rear, put their whole army in disorder, and killed about eight hundred of them.

Hannibal then wanted to get clear of so disadvantageous a situation, and in revenge of the mistake the guides had

* Hannibal had ravaged Samnium, plundered the territory of Beneventum, a Roman colony, and laid siege to Tilezia, a city at the foot of the Appenines. But finding that neither the ravaging of the country, nor even the taking of some cities, could make Fabius quit his eminences, he resolved to make use of a stronger bait, which was, to enter Campania, the finest country in Italy, and lay it waste under the dictator's eyes, hoping by that means to bring him to an action. But, by the mistake which Plutarch mentions, his guides, instead of conducting him to the plains of Casinum, led him into the narrow passes of Casalimum, which divides Samnium from Campania.

made, and the danger they had brought him into, he crucified them all. But not knowing how to drive the enemy from the heights they were masters of, and sensible besides of the terror and confusion that reigned amongst his men, who concluded themselves fallen into a snare, from which there was no escaping, he had recourse to stratagem.

The contrivance was this: He caused two thousand oxen, which he had in his camp, to have torches and dry bavins well fastened to their horns. These, in the night, upon a signal given, were to be lighted, and the oxen to be driven to the mountains, near the narrow pass that was guarded by the enemy. While those that had it in charge were thus employed, he decamped, and marched slowly forward. So long as the fire was moderate, and burnt only the torches and bavins, the oxen moved softly on, as they were driven up the hills; and the shepherds and herdsmen on the adjacent heights took them for an army that marched in order with lighted torches. But when their horns were burnt to the roots, and the fire pierced to the quick, terrified and mad with pain, they no longer kept any certain route, but ran up the hills, with their foreheads and tails flaming, and setting every thing on fire that came in their way.— The Romans who guarded the pass were astonished; for they appeared to them like a great number of men running up and down with torches, which scattered fire on every side. In their fears, of course, they concluded, that they should be attacked and surrounded by the enemy; for which reason they quitted the pass, and fled to the main body in the camp. Immediately Hannibal's light-armed troops took possession of the outlet, and the rest of his forces marched safely through, loaded with a rich booty.

Fabius discovered the stratagem that same night, for some of the oxen, as they were scattered about, fell into his hands; but, for fear of an ambush in the dark, he kept his men all night under arms in the camp. At break of day, he pursued the enemy, came up with their rear, and attacked them; several skirmishes ensued in the difficult passes of the mountains, and Hannibal's army was put in some disorder, until he detached from his van a body of Spaniards, light and nimble men, who were accustomed to climb such heights. These falling upon the heavy-armed Romans, cut off a considerable number of them, and obliged Fabius

* ἀχρι μεν πυρ ὀλιγον τη, κατ περικαλις την ὑλην —

to retire. This brought upon him more contempt and calumny than ever: for having renounced open force, as if he could subdue Hannibal by conduct and foresight, he appeared now to be worsted at his own weapons. Hannibal, to incense the Romans still more against him, when he came to his lands, ordered them to be spared, and set a guard upon them to prevent the committing of the least injury there, while he was ravaging all the country around them, and laying it waste with fire. An account of these things being brought to Rome, heavy complaints were made thereupon. The tribunes alleged many articles of accusation against him, before the people, chiefly at the instigation of Metilius, who had no particular enmity to Fabius, but being strongly in the interest of Minucius the general of the horse, whose relation he was, he thought by deprecating Fabius, to raise his friend. The senate, too, was offended, particularly with the terms he had settled with Hannibal for the ransom of prisoners. For it was agreed between them, that the prisoners should be exchanged, man for man, and that if either of them had more than the other, he should release them for two hundred and fifty drachmas each man *; and upon the whole account there remained two hundred and forty Romans unexchanged. The senate determined not to pay this ransom, and blamed Fabius as taking a step that was against the honour and interest of the state, in endeavouring to recover men whom cowardice had betrayed into the hands of the enemy.

When Fabius was informed of the resentment of his fellow citizens, he bore it with invincible patience; but being in want of money, and not choosing to deceive Hannibal, or to abandon his countrymen in their distress, he sent his son to Rome, with orders to sell part of his estate, and bring him the money immediately. This was punctually performed by his son, and Fabius redeemed the prisoners; several of whom afterwards offered to repay him, but his generosity would not permit him to accept it.

After this he was called to Rome by the priests, to assist at some of the solemn sacrifices, and therefore was obliged to leave the army to Minucius; but he both charged him as dictator, and used many arguments and entreaties with him as a friend, not to come to any kind of action. The pains

* I ivy calls this *argenti pondo bina et libras in militem*; whence we learn that the Roman *pundo*, or pound weight of silver, was equivalent to one hundred Grecian *drachmas* or a *mina*.

he took were lost upon Minucius ; for he immediately sought occasions to fight the enemy. And observing one day that Hannibal had sent out great part of his army to forage, he attacked those that were left behind, and drove them within their entrenchments, killing great numbers of them, so that they even feared he would storm their camp : and when the rest of the Carthaginian forces were returned, he retreated without loss *. This success added to his temerity, and increased the ardour of the soldiers. The report of it soon reached Rome, and the advantage was represented as much greater than it really was. When Fabius was informed of it, he said, *he dreaded nothing more than the success of Minucius.* But the people mightily elated with the news ran to the *forum* ; and their tribune Metilius harangued them from the *rostrum*, highly extolling Minucius, and accusing Fabius now, not of cowardice and want of spirit, but of treachery. He endeavoured also to involve the principal men in Rome in the same crime, alleging, “ That they had originally brought the war “ upon Italy, for the destruction of the common people, “ and had put the commonwealth under the absolute di-“ rection of one man, who, by his slow proceedings, gave “ Hannibal opportunity to establish himself in the coun-“ try, and to draw fresh forces from Carthage, in order “ to effect a total conquest of Italy.”

Fabius disdained to make any defence against these allegations of the tribune ; he only declared, that “ He would “ finish the sacrifice, and other religious rites, as soon as “ possible, that he might return to the army and punish “ Minucius for fighting contrary to his orders.” This occasioned a great tumult among the people, who were alarmed at the danger of Minucius. For it is in the dictator’s power to imprison and inflict capital punishment without form of trial : and they thought that the wrath of Fabius now provoked, though he was naturally very mild and patient, would prove heavy and implacable. But fear kept them all silent, except Metilius, whose person, as tribune of the people could not be touched, (for the tribunes are the only officers of state, that retain their authority after the appointing of a dictator.) Metilius entreated, insisted that the people should not give up Minucius, to suffer

* Others say, that he lost five thousand of his men, and that the enemy’s loss did not exceed his by more than a thousand.

perhaps, what Manlius Torquatus caused his own son to suffer, whom he beheaded when crowned with laurel for his victory; but that they should take from Fabius his power to play the tyrant, and leave the direction of affairs to one who was both able and willing to save his country. The people, though much affected with this speech, did not venture to divest Fabius of the dictatorship, notwithstanding the *odium* he had incurred; but decreed that Minucius should share the command with him, and have equal authority in conducting the war: a thing never before practised in Rome. There was, however, another instance of it soon after upon the unfortunate action of Cannæ; for Marcus Junius the dictator being then in the field, they created another dictator, Fabius Buteo, to fill up the senate, many of whose members were slain in that battle. There was this difference, indeed, that Buteo had no sooner enrolled the new senators, than he dismissed his *lictors* and the rest of his retinue, and mixed with the crowd, stopping some time in the *forum* about his own affairs as a private man.

When the people had thus invested Minucius with a power equal to that of the dictator, they thought they should find Fabius extremely humbled and dejected; but it soon appeared that they knew not the man. For he did not reckon their mistake any unhappiness to him; but as Diogenes, the philosopher, when one said, "They deride you," answered well, "But I am not derided;" accounting those only to be ridiculed, who feel the ridicule and are discomposed at it; so Fabius bore without emotion all that happened to himself, herein confirming that position in philosophy, which affirms that *a wise and good man can suffer no disgrace*. But he was under no small concern for the public on account of the unadvised proceedings of the people, who had put it in the power of a rash man to indulge his indiscreet ambition for military distinction. And apprehensive that Minucius, infatuated with ambition, might take some fatal step, he left Rome very privately.

Upon his arrival at the camp, he found the arrogance of Minucius grown to such a height, that it was no longer to be endured. Fabius therefore refused to comply with his demand of having the army under his orders every other day, and, instead of that, divided the forces with him, choosing rather to have the full command of a part, than the direction of the whole by turns. He therefore took the first and fourth legions himself, leaving the second and

third to Minucius; and the confederate forces were likewise equally divided.

Minucius valued himself highly upon this, that the power of the greatest and most arbitrary office in the state was controled and reduced for his sake. But Fabius put him in mind, “ That it was not Fabius whom he had to contend with, but Hannibal; that if he would, notwithstanding, consider his colleague as his rival, he must take care lest he who had so successively carried his point with the people, should one day appear to have their safety and interest less at heart than the man who had been so ill treated by them.” Minucius considering this as the effect of an old man’s pique, and taking the troops that fell to his lot, marked out a separeate camp for them*. Hannibal was well informed of all that passed, and watched his opportunity to take advantage of it.

There was a hill betwixt him and the enemy, not difficult to take possession of, which yet would afford an army a very safe and commodious post. The ground about it, at a distance, seemed quite level and plain, though there were in it several ditches and hollows: and therefore, though he might privately have seized that post with ease, yet he left it as a bait to draw the enemy to an engagement. But as soon as he saw Minucius parted from Fabius, he took an opportunity in the night to place a number † of men in those ditches and hollows; and early in the morning he openly sent out a small party, as if designed to make themselves masters of the hill, but really to draw Minucius to dispute it with them. The event answered his expectation. For Minucius sent out his light-armed troops first, then the cavalry, and at last, when he saw Hannibal send reinforcements to his men upon the hill, he marched out with all his forces in order of battle, and attacked with great vigour the Carthaginians, who were marking out a camp upon the hill. The fortune of the day was doubtful, until Hannibal, perceiving that the enemy had fallen into the snare, and that their rear was open to the ambuscade, instantly gave the signal. Hereupon, his men rushed out on all sides, and advancing with loud shouts, and cutting in pieces the hindmost ranks, they put the Romans in disorder and terror inexpressible. Even the spirit of Minucius

* About fifteen hundred paces from Fabius.

† Five hundred horse and five thousand foot. *Polyb.*

began to shrink ; and he looked first upon one officer and then upon another, but not one of them durst stand his ground : they all betook themselves to flight, and the flight itself proved fatal. For the Numid'ans, now victorious, galloped round the plain, and killed those whom they found dispersed.

Fabius was not ignorant of the danger of his countrymen. Foreseeing what would happen, he kept his forces under arms, and took care to be informed how the action went on : nor did he trust to the reports of others, but he himself, looked out from an eminence not far from his camp. When he saw the army of his colleague surrounded and broken, and the cry reached him, not like that of men standing the charge, but of persons flying in great dismay *, he smote upon his thigh, and with a deep sigh said to his friends about him, “ Ye gods ! how much sooner than I expected, “ and yet later than his indiscreet proceedings required, “ has Minucius ruined himself ! ” Then having commanded the standard bearers to advance, and the whole army to follow, he addressed them in these words : “ Now, “ my brave soldiers, if any one has a regard for Marcus “ Minucius, let him exert himself ; for he deserves assistance for his valour and the love he bears his country. “ If, in his haste to drive out the enemy, he has committed “ any error, this is not a time to find fault with him.”

The first fight of Fabius frightened away the Numidians who were picking up stragglers in the field. Then he attacked those who were charging the Romans in the rear. Such as made resistance he slew ; but the greatest part retreated to their own army, before the communication was cut off, lest they should themselves be surrounded in their turn. Hannibal seeing this change of fortune, and finding that Fabius pushed on through the hottest of the battle with a vigour above his years, to come up to Minucius upon the hill, put an end to the dispute, and having sounded a retreat, retired into his camp. The Romans, on their part, were not sorry when the action was over. Hannibal, as he was drawing off, is reported to have said smartly to those that were by, “ Did not I often tell you, that this cloud

* Homer mentions the custom of smiting upon the thigh in time of trouble—*Kai ἡ πειλαγέτο μηνῶν*; and we learn from scripture, that it was practised in the east.

Compare Hom. Il. *μ.* v. 162, and this passage of Plutarch with Jer. xxxi. 19. and Ezek. xxi. 12.

“ would one day burst upon us from the mountains, with
“ all the fury of a storm ?”

After the battle, Fabius having collected the spoils of such Carthaginians as were left dead upon the field, returned to his post ; nor did he let fall one haughty or angry word against his colleague. As for Minucius, having called his men together, he thus expressed himself : “ Friends and fellow-soldiers, not to err at all in the management of great affairs, is above the wisdom of men : but it is the part of a prudent and good man, to learn from his errors and miscarriages, to correct himself for the future. For my part, I confess, that though fortune has frowned upon me a little, I have much to thank her for. For what I could not be brought to be sensible of in so long a time, I have learned in the small compass of one day, that I know not how to command, but have need to be under the direction of another ; and from this moment I bid adieu to the ambition of getting the better of a man whom it is an honour to be soiled by. In all other respects the dictator shall be your commander ; but in the due expressions of gratitude to him, I will be your leader still, by being the first to show an example of obedience and submission.”

He then ordered the ensigns to advance with the eagles, and the troops to follow, himself marching at their head, to the camp of Fabius. Being admitted, he went directly to his tent. The whole army waited with impatience for the event. When Fabius came out, Minucius fixed his standard before him, and with a loud voice saluted him by the name of *Father* ; at the same time his soldiers called those of Fabius their *Patrons* ; an appellation which freedmen give to those that enfranchise them. These respects being paid, and silence taking place, Minucius thus addressed himself to the dictator : “ You have this day, Fabius, obtained two victories, one over the enemy by your valour, the other over your colleague by your prudence and humanity. By the former you saved us, by the latter you have injured us : and Hannibal’s victory over us, is not more disgraceful than yours is honourable and salutary to us. I call you *Father*, not knowing a more honourable name, and am more indebted to you than to my real father. To him I owe my being, but to you the preservation of my life, and the lives of all these brave men.” After this, he threw himself into the

arms of Fabius, and the soldiers of each army embraced one another, with every expression of tenderneſs, and with tears of joy.

Not long after this, Fabius laid down the dictatorship, and consuls were created*. The firſt of these kept to the plan which Fabius had laid down. He took care not to come to a pitched battle with Hannibal, but ſent ſuccours to the allies of Rome, and prevented any revolt in their cities. But when Terentius Varro †, a man of obscure birth, and remarkable only for his temerity and ſervile complaifance to the people, rose to the confulſhip, it ſoon appeared that his boldneſs and inexperience would bring him to risk the very being of the commonwealth. For he loudly iinfifted in the aſſembliies of the people, that the war ſtood ſtill whiſt it was under the conduct of the Fabii; but for his part he would take but one day to get ſight of the enemy, and to beat him. With these promises he ſo prevailed on the multitude, that he raised greater forces than Rome had ever had on foot before, in her moſt dan- gerous wars; for he muſtered ‡ no fewer than eighty-eight thouſand men. Hereupon Fabius, and other wiſe and expe- rienced perſons among the Romans were greatly alarmed; because they ſaw no reſource for the ſtate, if ſuch a number of their youths ſhould be cut off. They addressed themſelves, therefore, to the other conſul, Paulus Aemilius, a man of great expe- rienee in war, but diſagreeable to the people, and at the ſame time afraid of them, for they had formerly ſet a conſiderable fine upon him. Fabius, however, encouraged him to withstand the temerity of his colleague, telling him, “ That the diſpute he had to ſupport for his country was

* According to Livy, Fabius, after the ſix months of his dictatorship were expired, reſigned the army to the conſuls of that year, Servilius and Attilius; the latter having been appointed in the room of Flaminius, who was killed in battle. But Plutarch follows Poly- bius, who ſays, that as the time for the election of new conſuls ap- proached, the Romans named L. Aemilius Paulus and Terentius Varro conſuls, after which the dictators reſigned their charge.

† Varro was the ſon of a butcher, and had followed his father's profeſſion in his youth; but, growing rich, he had forſaken that mean calling; and by the favour of the people, procured by ſupporting the moſt turbulent of their tribunes, he obtained the conſulſate.

‡ It was uſual with the Romans to muſter every year four le- gions, which conſiſting, in diſſicult times, each of five thouſand Roman foot, and three hundred horse, and a battalion of Latins equal to that number, amounted in the whole to 42,400. But this year, iñſtead of four legions, they raised eight.

“ not so much with Hannibal as with Varro.” “ The latter,” said he, “ will hasten to an engagement *, because he knows not his own strength ; and the former because he knows his own weakness. But, believe me, Æmilius, I deserve more attention than Varro, with respect to the affairs of Hannibal ; and I do assure you, that if the Romans come to no battle with him this year, he will either be undone by his stay in Italy, or else be obliged to quit it. Even now, when he seems to be victorious, and to carry all before him, not one of his enemies has quitted the Roman interest, and not a third part of the forces remains which he brought from home with him.” To this Æmilius is said to have answered, “ My friend, when I consider myself only, I conclude it better for me to fall upon the weapons of the enemy, than by the sentence of my own countrymen. However, since the state of public affairs is so critical, I will endeavour to approve myself a good general, and had rather appear such to you, than to all who oppose you, and who would draw me, willing or unwilling, to their party.”

With these sentiments Æmilius began his operations.

But Varro, having brought his colleague to agree †, that they should command alternately each his day, when his turn came, took post over against Hannibal, on the banks of the Aufidus, near the village of Cannæ ‡. As soon as it was light he gave the signal for battle, which is a red mantle set up over the general’s tent. The Carthaginians were a little disheartened at first, when they saw how daring the consul was, and that his army was more than twice their number. But Hannibal having ordered them to arm ; himself, with a few others, rode up to an eminence, to take

* The best dependence of Varro was, undoubtedly, to prolong the war, that Hannibal, who was already weakened, might wear himself out by degrees ; and, for the same reason, it was Hannibal’s business to fight.

† It was a fixed rule with the Romans, that the consuls, when they went upon the same service, should have the command of the army by turns.

‡ Cannæ, according to Livy, Appian, and Florus, was only a poor village, which afterwards became famous on account of the battle fought near it ; but Polybius, who lived near the time of the second Punic war, styles Cannæ a city ; and adds, that it had been razed a year before the defeat of the Roman army. Silius Italicus agrees with Polybius. It was afterwards rebuilt ; for Pliny ranks it among the cities of Apulia. The ruins of Cannæ are still to be seen in the territory of Bari.

a view of the enemy now drawn up for battle. One Gisco, that accompanied him, a man of his own rank, happening to say, "The numbers of the enemy appeared to him surprising." Hannibal replied, with a serious countenance, "There is another thing which has escaped your observation, much more surprising than that." Upon his asking what it was, "It is," said he, "that among such numbers not one of them is named Gisco." The whole company were diverted with the humour of his observation; and as they returned to the camp, they told the jest to those they met, so that the laugh became universal. At sight of this the Carthaginians took courage, thinking it must proceed from the great contempt in which their general held the Romans, that he could jest and laugh in the face of danger.

In this battle Hannibal gave great proofs of generalship. In the first place, he took advantage of the ground, to post his men with their backs to the wind, which was then very violent and scorching, and drove from the dry plains, over the heads of the Carthaginians, clouds of sand and dust into the eyes and nostrils of the Romans, so that they were obliged to turn away their faces, and break their ranks. In the next place, his troops were drawn up with superior art. He placed the flower of them in the wings, and those upon whom he had less dependence in the main corps, which was considerably more advanced than the wings. Then he commanded those in the wings, that when the enemy had charged, and vigorously pushed that advanced body, which he knew would give way, and open a passage for them to the very centre, and when the Romans by this means should be far enough engaged within the two wings, they should both on the right and left take them in flank, and endeavour to surround them*. This was the principal cause of the great carnage that followed. For the enemy pressing upon Hannibal's front, which gave ground, the form of his army was changed into a half moon; and the officers of the select troops caused the two points of the wings to join behind the Romans. Thus they were exposed to the attacks of the Carthaginians on all sides; an incredible slaughter followed; nor did any escape but the few that retreated before the main body was enclosed.

* Five hundred Numidians pretended to desert to the Romans; but in the heat of the battle turned against them, and attacked them in the rear.

It is also said, that a strange and fatal accident happened to the Roman cavalry. For the horse which *Æmilius* rode having received some hurt, threw him; and those about him alighting to assist and defend the consul on foot, the rest of the cavalry seeing this, and taking it for a signal for them to do the same, all quitted their horses and charged on foot. At sight of this, Hannibal said, "This pleases me better than if they had been delivered to me bound hand and foot." But the particulars may be found at large in the historians who have described this battle.

As to the consuls, Varro escaped with a few horse to Venetia; and *Æmilius*, covered with darts which stuck in his wounds, sat down in anguish and despair, waiting for the enemy to dispatch him. His head and his face were so disfigured and stained with blood, that it was not easy to know him; even his friends and servants passed by him without stopping. At last, Cornelius Lentulus, a young man of a *patrician* family, perceiving who he was, dismounted, and entreated him to take his horse, and save himself for the commonwealth, which had then more occasion than ever for so good a consul. But nothing could prevail upon him to accept of the offer; and, notwithstanding the young man's tears, he obliged him to mount his horse again. Then rising up, and taking him by the hand, "Tell *Fabius Maximus*," said he, "and, *Lentulus*, "do you yourself be witness *," that *Paulus Æmilius* followed his directions to the last, and did not deviate in "the least from the plan agreed upon between them, but "was first overcome by *Varro*, and then by *Hannibal*." Having dispatched *Lentulus* with this commission, he rushed among the enemy's swords, and was slain. Fifty thousand Romans are said to have fallen in this battle †, and four thousand to have been taken prisoners, beside ten thousand that were taken after the battle in both the camps.

* Καὶ γενόμενος αὐτος.—

† According to *Livy*, there were killed of the Romans only forty thousand foot, and two thousand seven hundred horse. *Polybius* says, that seventy thousand were killed. The loss of the Carthaginians did not amount to six thousand.

When the Carthaginians were stripping the dead, among other moving objects, they found, to their great surprise, a Numidian yet alive, lying under the dead body of a Roman, who had thrown himself headlong on his enemy, and beat him down; but being no longer able to make use of his weapons, because he had lost his hands, had torn off the nose and ears of the Numidian with his teeth, and in that fit of rage expired.

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After this great success, Hannibal's friends advised him to pursue his fortune, and to enter Rome along with the fugitives, assuring him that in five days he might sup in the Capitol. It is not easy to conjecture what his reason was for not taking this step. Most probably some deity opposed it, and therefore inspired him with this hesitation and timidity. On this account it was that a Carthaginian, named Barca, said to him with some heat, "Hannibal, 'you know how to gain a victory, but not how to use it*.'"

The battle of Cannæ, however, made such an alteration in his affairs, that though before it he had neither town, nor magazine, nor port in Italy, but, without any regular supplies for the war, subsisted his army by rapine, and for that purpose moved them, like a great band of robbers, from place to place, yet then he became master of the greatest part of Italy: Its best provinces and towns voluntarily submitted to him, and Capua itself, the most respectable city after Rome, threw its weight into his scale.

In this case it appeared that great misfortunes are not only, what Euripides calls them, a trial of the fidelity of a friend, but of the capacity and conduct of a general. For the proceedings of Fabius, which before this battle were deemed cold and timid, then appeared to be directed by counsels more than human, to be indeed the dictates of a divine wisdom, which penetrated into futurity at such a distance, and foresaw what seemed incredible to the very persons who experienced it. In him, therefore, Rome places her last hope; his judgment is the temple, the altar, to which she flies for refuge, believing that to his prudence it was chiefly owing that she still held up her head, and that her children were not dispersed, as when she was taken by the Gauls. For he, who in times of apparent security,

* Zonarus tells us, that Hannibal himself afterwards acknowledged his mistake in not pursuing that day's success, and used often to cry out, *O Cannæ, Cannæ!*

But, on the other hand, it may be pleaded in defence of Hannibal, that the advantages he had gained were chiefly owing to his cavalry, who could not act in a siege: That the inhabitants of Rome were all bred up to arms from their infancy; would use their utmost efforts in defence of their wives, their children, and their domestic gods; and, when sheltered by walls and ramparts, would probably be invincible. That they had as many generals as senators: That no one nation of Italy had yet declared for him, and he might judge it necessary to gain some of them before he attempted the capital; and lastly, that if he had attempted the capital first, and without success, he would not have been able to gain any one nation or city.

seemed to be deficient in confidence and resolution, now when all abandoned themselves to inexpressible sorrow and helpless despair, alone walked about the city with a calm and easy pace, with a firm countenance, a mild and gracious address, checking their effeminate lamentations, and preventing them from assembling in public to bewail their common distress. He caused the senate to meet; he encouraged the magistrates, himself being the soul of their body, for all waited his motion, and were ready to obey his orders. He placed a guard at the gates, to hinder such of the people as were inclined to fly, from quitting the city. He fixed both the place and time for mourning, allowed thirty days for that purpose in a man's own house, and no more for the city in general. And as the feast of Ceres fell within that time, it was thought better entirely to omit the solemnity, than by the small numbers and the melancholy looks of those that should attend it, to discover the greatness of their loss*: for the worship most acceptable to the gods is that which comes from cheerful hearts. Indeed whatever the augurs ordered for propitiating the divine powers, and averting inauspicious omens, was carefully performed. For Fabius Pictor, the near relation of Fabius Maximus, was sent to consult the oracle at Delphi; and of the two vestals who were then found guilty of a breach of their vow of chastity, one was buried alive, according to custom, and the other died by her own hand.

But what most deserves to be admired, is the magnanimity and temper of the Romans, when the consul Varro returned after his defeat †, much humbled and very melancholy, as one who had occasioned the greatest calamity and disgrace imaginable to the republic. The whole senate and people went to welcome him at the gates;

* This was not the real cause of deferring the festival, but that which Plutarch hints at just after, viz. because it was unlawful for persons in mourning to celebrate it; and at that time there was not one matron in Rome who was not in mourning. In fact, the feast was not entirely omitted, but kept as soon as the mourning was expired.

† Valerius Maximus tells us (lib. iii. c. 6.) that the senate and people offered Varro the dictatorship, which he refused, and by his modest refusal wiped off, in some measure, the shame of his former behaviour. Thus the Romans, by treating their unfortunate commanders with humanity, lessened the disgrace of their being vanquished or discharged; while the Carthaginians condemned their generals to cruel deaths upon their being overcome, though it was often without their own fault.

and, when silence was commanded, the magistrates and principal senators, amongst whom was Fabius, commended him for not giving up the circumstances of the state as desperate after so great a misfortune, but returning to take upon him the administration, and to make what advantage he could for his country of the laws and citizens, as not being utterly lost and ruined.

When they found that Hannibal, after the battle, instead of marching to Rome, turned to another part of Italy, they took courage, and sent their armies and generals into the field. The most eminent of these were Fabius Maximus and Claudius Marcellus, men distinguished by characters almost entirely opposite. Marcellus (as we have mentioned in his life) was a man of a buoyant and animated valour; remarkably well skilled in the use of weapons, and naturally enterprising; such an one, in short, as Homer calls *lofty in heart, in courage fierce, in war delighting*. So intrepid a general was very fit to be opposed to an enemy as daring as himself, to restore the courage and spirits of the Romans, by some vigorous stroke in the first engagements. As for Fabius, he kept to his first sentiments, and hoped, that if he only followed Hannibal close, without fighting him, he and his army would wear themselves out, and lose their warlike vigour, just as a wrestler does, who keeps continually in the ring, and allows himself no repose, to recruit his strength after excessive fatigues. Hence it was that the Romans (as Posidonius tells us) called Fabius *their shield*, and Marcellus *their sword*, and used to say, that the steadiness and caution of the one, mixed with the vivacity and boldness of the other, made a compound very salutary to Rome. Hannibal, therefore, often meeting Marcellus, whose motions were like those of a torrent, found his forces broken and diminished; and by Fabius, who moved with a silent but constant stream, he was undermined and insensibly weakened. Such, at length, was the extremity he was reduced to, that he was tired of fighting Marcellus, and afraid of Fabius. And these were the persons he had generally to do with during the remainder of the war, as praetors, consuls, or proconsuls; for each of them was five times consul. It is true, Marcellus, in his fifth consulship, was drawn into his snares, and killed by means of an ambuscade. Hannibal often made the like attempts upon Fabius, exerting all his arts and stratagems, but without effect. Once only he deceived him, and had nearly led

him into a fatal error. He forged letters to him, as from the principal inhabitants of Metapontum, offering to deliver up the city to him, and assuring him that those who had taken this resolution, only waited till he appeared before it. Fabius giving credit to these letters, ordered a party to be ready, intending to march thither in the night; but finding the auspices unpromising, he altered his design, and soon after discovered that the letters were forged by an artifice of Hannibal's, and that he was lying in ambush for him near the town. But this perhaps may be ascribed to the favour and protection of the gods.

Fabius was persuaded that it was better to keep the cities from revolting, and to prevent any commotions among the allies, by affability and mildness, than to entertain every suspicion, or to use severity against those whom he did suspect. It is reported of him, that being informed, that a certain Marcian in his army *, who was a man not inferior in courage or family to any among the allies, solicited some of his men to desert, he did not treat him harshly, but acknowledged that he had been too much neglected; declaring at the same time, that he was now perfectly sensible how much his officers had been to blame in distributing honours more out of favour than regard to merit: and that for the future he should take it ill if he did not apply to him when he had any request to make. This was followed with a present of a war horse, and with other marks of honour; and from that time the man behaved with great fidelity and zeal for the service. Fabius thought it hard, that, while those who breed dogs and horses soften their stubborn tempers, and bring down their fierce spirits by care and kindness, rather than with whips and chains, he who has the command of men should not endeavour to correct their errors by gentleness and goodness, but treat them even in a harsher and more violent manner than gardeners do the wild fig-trees, wild pears and olives, whose nature they subdue by cultivation, and which by that means they bring to produce very agreeable fruit.

Another time some of his officers informed him, that one of the soldiers, a native of Lucania, often quitted his post, and rambled out of the camp. Upon this report, he asked what kind of a man he was in other respects; and they all declared it was not easy to find so good a soldier, doing

* Livy tells this story of Marcellus, which Plutarch here applies to Fabius.

him the justice to mention several extraordinary instances of his valour. On inquiring into the cause of this irregularity, he found that the man was passionately love, and that for the sake of seeing a young woman he ventured out of the camp, and took a long and dangerous journey every night. Hereupon Fabius gave orders to some of his men to find out the woman, and convey her into his own tent, but took care that the Lucanian should not know it. Then he sent for him, and taking him aside, spoke to him as follows : “ I very well know that you “ have lain many nights out of the camp, in breach of “ the Roman discipline and laws ; at the same time I am “ not ignorant of your past services. In consideration “ of them I forgive your present crime : but for the fu- “ ture I will give you in charge to a person who shall be “ answerable for you.” While the soldier stood much amazed, Fabius produced the woman, and putting her in his hands, thus expressed himself : “ This is the per- “ son who engages for you that you will remain in camp ; “ and now we shall see whether there was not some traitor- “ ous design which drew you out, and which you “ made the love of this woman a cloak for.” Such is the account we have of this affair.

By means of another love affair, Fabius recovered the city of Tarentum, which had been treacherously delivered up to Hannibal. A young man, a native of that place, who served under Fabius, had a sister there who loved him with great tenderness. This youth being informed, that a certain Brutian *, one of the officers of the garrison which Hannibal had put in Tarentum, entertained a violent passion for his sister, hoped to avail himself of this circumstance to the advantage of the Romans. Therefore, with the permission of Fabius, he returned to his sister at Tarentum, under colour of having deserted. Some days passed, during which the Brutian forbore his visits, for she supposed that her brother knew nothing of the amour. This obliged the young man to come to an explanation. “ It has been cur- “ rently reported (said he) that you receive addresses from “ a man of some distinction. Pray, who is he? If he is a “ man of honour and character, as they say he is, Mars, “ who confounds all things, takes but little thought of “ what country he may be. What necessity imposes is no “ disgrace ; but we may rather think ourselvess fortunate.

* τον τετραγύμνον ἐπ' Ανδρέα την πολιτική φρεγειν εἰς ἡγεμονίας.

" at a time when justice yields to force, if that which force
 " might compel us to, happens not to be disagreeable to
 " our own inclinations." Thus encouraged, the young
 woman sent for the Brutian, and presented him to her
 brother. And as she behaved to him in a kinder and more
 complying manner, through her brother's means, who
 was very indulgent to his passion, it was not very difficult
 to prevail with the Brutian, who was deeply in love, and
 was withal a mercenary *, to deliver up the town, upon
 promises of great rewards from Fabius.

This is the account which most historians give us: yet some say, that the woman by whom the Brutian was gained, was not a Tarentine, but a Brutian; that she had been concubine to Fabius, and that when she found the governor of Tarentum was her countryman and acquaintance, she told Fabius of it, and finding means, by approaching the walls, to make him a proposal, she drew him over to the Roman interest.

During these transactions, Fabius, in order to make a diversion, gave directions to the garrison of Rhegium, to lay waste the Brutian territories, and, if possible, to make themselves masters of Caulonia. These were a body of eight thousand men, composed partly of deserters, and partly of the most worthless of that infamous band brought by Marcellus out of Sicily †, and therefore the loss of them would not be great, nor much lamented by the Romans. These men he threw out as a bait for Hannibal, and by sacrificing them, hoped to draw him to a distance from Tarentum. The design succeeded accordingly: for Hannibal marched with his forces to Caulonia, and Fabius in the mean time laid siege to Tarentum. The sixth day of the siege, the young man having settled the matter with the Brutian officer, by means of his sister, and having well observed the place where he kept guard, and promised to let in the Romans, went to Fabius by night, and gave him an account of it. The consul moved to the appointed quarter, though not entirely depending upon the promise that the

* *ανθεπτικούσιοφορες*—. This has been mistranslated *a man of a mercenary disposition*. The words only import that he was not of Hannibal's own troops, but of the mercenaries. Hence all governments should learn to beware how they intrust their towns with garrisons of hired troops and strangers.

† These men were brought from Sicily, not by Marcellus, but by his colleague Laevinus.

town would be betrayed. There he himself sat still, but at the same time ordered an assault on every other part, both by sea and land. This was put in execution with great noise and tumult, which drew most of the Tarentines that way, to assist the garrison, and repel the besiegers. Then the Brutian giving Fabius the signal, he scaled the walls, and got possession of the town.

On this occasion Fabius seems to have indulged a criminal ambition *. For that it might not appear that the place was betrayed to him, he ordered the Brutians to be put first to the sword. But he failed in his design; for the former suspicion still remained, and he incurred, besides, the reproach of perfidy and inhumanity. Many of the Tarentines also were killed; thirty thousand of them were sold for slaves; the army had the plunder of the town, and three thousand talents were brought into the public treasury. Whilst every thing was ransacked, and the spoils were heaped before Fabius, it is reported that the officer who took the inventory, asked, “What he would have “them do with the gods?” meaning the statues and pictures: Fabius answered, “Let us leave the Tarentines “their angry gods †.” However, he carried away a *colossus* of Hercules, which he afterwards set up in the capitol, and near it an equestrian statue of himself in brafs ‡. Thus he showed himself inferior to Marcellus in his taste for the fine arts, and still more so in mercy and humanity. Marcellus in this respect had greatly the advantage, as we have already observed in his life.

Hannibal had hastened to the relief of Tarentum, and being within five miles of it, when it was taken, he scrupled not to say publicly, “The Romans, too, have their “Hannibal: for we have lost Tarentum in the same “manner that we gained it.” And, in private, he then first acknowledged to his friends, “That he had always “thought it difficult, but now saw it was impossible, “with the forces he had, to conquer Italy.”

* Livy does not say that Fabius gave such orders. He only says, “There were many Brutians slain, either through ignorance, or “through the ancient hatred which the Romans bore them, or be- “cause the Romans were desirous that Tarentum should seem to “be taken sword in hand, rather than betrayed to them.”

† The gods were in the attitude of combatants; and they appeared to have fought against the Tarentines.

‡ The work of Lysippus.

Fabius for this was honoured with a triumph more splendid than the former, having gloriously maintained the field against Hannibal, and baffled all his schemes with ease, just as an able wrestler disengages himself from the arms of his antagonist, whose grasp no longer retains the same vigour. For Hannibal's army was now partly enervated with opulence and luxury, and partly impaired and worn out with continual action.

Marcus Livius, who commanded in Tarentum, when it was betrayed to Hannibal, retired into the citadel, and held it till the town was retaken by the Romans. This officer beheld with pain the honours conferred upon Fabius, and one day his envy and vanity drew from him this expression in the senate: "I, not Fabius, was the cause of recovering Tarentum." "True," said Fabius, laughing, "for if you had not lost the town, I had never recovered it."

Among other honours which the Romans paid to Fabius, they elected his son consul *. When he had entered upon his office, and was settling some point relating to the war, the father, either on account of his age and infirmities, or else to try his son, mounted his horse, to ride up to him. The young consul, seeing him at a distance, would not suffer it, but sent one of the *lictors* to his father, with orders for him to dismount, and to come on foot to the consul, if he had any occasion to apply to him. The whole assembly were moved at this, and cast their eyes upon Fabius, by their silence and their looks expressing their resentment of the indignity offered to a person of his character. But he instantly alighted, and ran to his son, and embraced him with great tenderness. "My son," said he, "I applaud your sentiments and your behaviour. You know what a people you command, and have a just sense of the dignity of your office. This was the way that we and our forefathers took to advance Rome to her present height of glory, always considering the honour and interest of our country before that of our own fathers and children."

And indeed it is reported that the great grandfather of our Fabius †, though he was one of the greatest men in Rome, whether we consider his reputation or authority, though he had been five times consul, and had been honoured with several glorious triumphs on account of his

* The son was elected consul four years before the father took Tarentum.

† Fabius Rullus.

success in wars of the last importance, yet condescended to serve as lieutenant to his son, then consul*, in an expedition against the Samnites: and while his son, in the triumph which was decreed him, drove into Rome in a chariot and four, he, with others, followed him on horseback. Thus, while he had authority over his son, considered as a private man, and while he was †, both especially and reputedly the most considerable member of the commonwealth, yet he gloried in showing his subjection to the laws and to the magistrate. Nor was this the only part of his character that deserves to be admired.

When Fabius Maximus had the misfortune to lose his son, he bore that loss with great moderation, as became a wise man and a good father: and the funeral oration ‡, which, on occasion of the deaths of illustrious men, is usually pronounced by some near kinsman, he delivered himself; and having committed it to writing, made it public.

When Publius Cornelius Scipio, who was sent proconsul into Spain, had defeated the Carthaginians in many battles, and driven them out of that province; and when he had, moreover, reduced several towns and nations under the obedience of Rome, on returning loaded with spoil, he was received with great acclamations and general joy. Being appointed consul, and finding that the people expected something great and striking at his hands, he considered it as an antiquated method, and worthy only of the inactivity of an old man, to watch the motions of Hannibal in Italy; and therefore determined to remove the seat of war from thence into Africa, to fill the enemy's country with his legions, to extend his ravages far and wide, and to attempt Carthage itself. With this view, he exerted all his talents to bring the people into his design. But Fabius, on this occasion, filled the city with alarms, as if the commonwealth was going to be brought into the most extreme danger, by a rash and indiscreet young man; in short, he

* Fabius Gurges, who had been defeated by the Samnites, and would have been degraded, had not his father promised to attend him in his second expedition as his lieutenant.

† — καὶ ὦν, ωποταγογενεύεσσος —

‡ Cicero, in his treatise on old age, speaks, in high terms, both of Fabius and this oration of his: " Many extraordinary things have I known in that man, but nothing more admirable than the manner in which he bore the death of his son, a person of great merit, and of consular dignity. His eulogium is in our hands; and while we read it, do we not look down on the best of the philosophers?"

scrupled not to do or say any thing he thought likely to dissuade his countrymen from embracing the proposal. With the senate he carried his point *. But the people believed that his opposition to Scipio proceeded either from envy of his success, or from a secret fear that if this young hero should perform some signal exploit, put an end to the war, or even remove it out of Italy, his own slow proceedings through the course of so many years might be imputed to indolence or timidity.

To me Fabius seems at first to have opposed the measures of Scipio, from an excess of caution and prudence, and to have really thought the danger attending his project great; but in the progress of the opposition I think he went too great lengths, misled by ambition and a jealousy of Scipio's rising glory. For he applied to Crassus, the colleague of Scipio, and endeavoured to persuade him not to yield that province to Scipio, but, if he thought it proper to conduct the war in that manner, to go himself against Carthage†. Nay, he even hindered the raising of money for that expedition; so that Scipio was obliged to find the supplies as he could: and he effected it through his interest with the cities of Hetruria, which were wholly devoted to him ‡. As for Crassus, he stayed at home, partly induced to it by his disposition, which was mild and peaceful, and partly by the care of religion, which was intrusted to him as high-priest.

Fabius, therefore, took another method to traverse the design. He endeavoured to prevent the young men who offered to go volunteers, from giving in their names, and loudly declared both in the senate and *forum*, "That Scipio did not only himself avoid Hannibal, but intended to carry away with him the remaining strength of Italy, persuading the young men to abandon their parents, their wives, and native city, whilst an unsubdued and potent enemy was still at their doors." With these af-

* See the debates in the senate on that occasion, in Livy, ab. xxviii.

† This Crassus could not do; for being *Pontifex Maximus*, it was necessary that he should remain in Italy.

‡ Scipio was empowered to ask of the allies all things necessary for building and equipping a new fleet. And many of the provinces and cities voluntarily taxed themselves to furnish him with corn, iron, timber, cloth for sails, &c. so that in forty days after the cutting of the timber, he was in a condition to set sail with a fleet of thirty new galleys, besides the thirty he had before. There went with him about seven thousand volunteers.

sertions he so terrified the people, that they allowed Scipio to take with him only the legions that were in Sicily, and three hundred of those men who had served him with so much fidelity in Spain. In this particular Fabius seems to have followed the dictates of his own cautious temper.

After Scipio was gone over into Africa, an account was soon brought to Rome of his glorious and wonderful achievements. This account was followed by rich spoils, which confirmed it. A Numidian king was taken prisoner; two camps were burnt and destroyed, and in them a vast number of men, arms, and horses; and the Carthaginians sent orders to Hannibal to quit his fruitless hopes in Italy, and return home to defend his own country. Whilst every tongue was applauding these exploits of Scipio, Fabius proposed that his successor should be appointed, without any shadow of reason for it, except what this well-known maxim implies, *viz.* “That it is dangerous to trust affairs “of such importance to the fortune of one man, because “it is not likely that he will always be successful.”

By this he offended the people, who now considered him as a captious and envious man; or as one whose courage and hopes were lost in the dregs of years, and who therefore looked upon Hannibal as much more formidable than he really was. Nay, even when Hannibal embarked his army and quitted Italy, Fabius ceased not to disturb the general joy and to damp the spirits of Rome. For he took the liberty to affirm, “That the commonwealth was now come “to her last and worst trial; that she had the most reason “to dread the efforts of Hannibal when he should arrive in “Africa, and attack her sons under the walls of Carthage; “that Scipio would have to do with an army yet warm “with the blood of so many Roman generals, dictators, “and consuls.” The city was alarmed with these declamations, and though the war was removed into Africa, the danger seemed to approach nearer Rome than ever.

However, soon after, Scipio defeated Hannibal in a pitched battle, pulled down the pride of Carthage and trode it under foot. This afforded the Romans a pleasure beyond all their hopes, and restored a firmness to their empire, which had been shaken with so many tempests. But Fabius Maximus did not live to the end of the war, to hear of the overthrow of Hannibal, or to see the prosperity of his country re-established: for about the time that Hannibal left Italy, he fell sick and died. We are assured,

that Epaminondas died so poor, that the Thebans buried him at the public charge; for at his death nothing was found in his house but an iron spit*. The expence of Fabius's funeral was not indeed defrayed out of the Roman treasury, but every citizen contributed a small piece of money towards it; not that he died without effects, but that they might bury him as the father of the people; and that the honours paid him at his death might be suitable to the dignity of his life.

PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS COMPARED.

SUCH were the lives of those two persons, so illustrious and worthy of imitation both in their civil and military capacity †. We shall first compare their talents for war. And here it strikes us at once, that Pericles came into power at a time when the Athenians were at the height of prosperity, great in themselves, and respectable to their neighbours; so that in the very strength of the republic, with only common success, he was secure from taking any disgraceful step. But as Fabius came to the helm, when Rome experienced the worst and most mortifying turn of fortune, he had not to preserve the well-established prosperity of a flourishing state, but to draw his country from an abyss of misery, and raise it to happiness. Besides, the successes of Cimon, the victories of Myronides and Leocrates, and the many great achievements of Tolmides, rather furnished occasion to Pericles, during his administration, to entertain the city with feasts and games‡, than to make new acquisitions, or to defend the old ones by arms. On the other hand, Fabius had the frightful objects before his eyes of defeat, and disgraces, of Roman consuls and generals slain, of lakes, fields, and forests full of the dead carcases of whole armies, and of rivers flowing with

* Xylander is of opinion, that the word *οειλιονος*, in this place does not signify a spit, but a piece of money; and he shows from a passage in the life of Lysander, that money anciently was made in a pyramidal form. But he did not consider that iron money was not in use at Thebes, and Plutarch says that this obeliscus was of iron.

† Πολλα και καλα παραδιηματα καταδηντασιν.—

‡ η πολιτευη πολεμη και φυλαξισι.—

blood down to the very sea. In this tottering and decayed condition of the commonwealth, he was to support it by his councils and his vigour, and to keep it from falling into absolute ruin, to which it was brought so near by the errors of former commanders.

It may seem, indeed, a less arduous performance to manage the tempers of a people humbled by calamities, and compelled by necessity to listen to reason, than to restrain the wildness and insolence of a city elated with success, and wanton with power, such as Athens was when Pericles held the reins of government. But then, undauntedly to keep to his first resolutions, and not to be discomposed by the vast weight of misfortunes with which Rome was then oppressed, discovers in Fabius an admirable firmness and dignity of mind.

Against the taking of Samos by Pericles, we may set the retaking of Tarentum by Fabius; and with Eubœa we may put in balance the towns of Campania. As for Capua, it was recovered afterwards by the consuls Furius and Appius. Fabius indeed gained but one set battle, for which he had his first triumph; whereas Pericles erected nine trophies for as many victories won by land and sea. But none of the victories of Pericles can be compared with that memorable rescue of Minucius, by which Fabius redeemed him and his whole army from utter destruction: an action truly great, and in which you find at once the bright assemblage of valour, of prudence, and humanity. Nor can Pericles, on the other hand, be said ever to have committed such an error as that of Fabius, when he suffered himself to be imposed on by Hannibal's stratagem of the oxen; let his enemy slip in the night through those straits in which he had been entangled by accident, and where he could not possibly have forced his way out; and as soon as it was day, saw himself repulsed by the man who so lately was at his mercy.

If it is the part of a good general, not only to make a proper use of the present, but also to form the best judgment of things to come, it must be allowed that Pericles both foresaw and foretold what success the Athenians would have in the war, namely, that they would ruin themselves by grasping at too much. But it was entirely against the opinion of Fabius, that the Romans sent Scipio into Africa, and yet they were victorious there, not by the favour of fortune, but by the courage and conduct of their general.

So that the misfortunes of his country bore witness to the sagacity of Pericles, and from the glorious success of the Romans it appeared that Fabius was utterly mistaken. And, indeed, it is an equal fault in a commander in chief to lose an advantage through diffidence, and to fall into danger for want of foresight. For it is the same want of judgment and skill*, that sometimes produces too much confidence, and sometimes leaves too little. Thus far concerning their abilities in war.

And if we consider them in their political capacity, we shall find that the greatest fault laid to the charge of Pericles, was, that he caused the Peloponnesian war; through opposition to the Lacedaemonians, which made him unwilling to give up the least point to them. I do not suppose, that Fabius Maximus would have given up any point to the Carthaginians, but that he would generously have run the last risk to maintain the dignity of Rome.

The mild and moderate behaviour of Fabius to Minucius, sets in a very disadvantageous light the conduct of Pericles, in his implacable persecution of Cimon and Thucydides, valuable men, and friends to the aristocracy, and yet banished by his practices and intrigues.

Besides, the power of Pericles was much greater than that of Fabius; and therefore he did not suffer any misfortune to be brought upon Athens by the wrong measures of other generals. Tolmides only carried it against him for attacking the Boeotians, and in doing it, he was defeated and slain. All the rest adhered to his party, and submitted to his opinion, on account of his superior authority: whereas Fabius, whose measures were salutary and safe, as far as they depended upon himself, appears only to have fallen short, by his inability to prevent the miscarriages of others. For the Romans would not have had so many misfortunes to deplore, if the power of Fabius had been as great in Rome as that of Pericles in Athens.

As to their liberality and public spirit, Pericles showed it in refusing the sums that were offered him, and Fabius in ransoming his soldiers with his own money. This, indeed, was no great expence, being only about six talents †. But

* This *απειρία* signifies, as well as *inexperience*. Fabius had as much experience as Pericles, and yet was not equally happy in his conjectures with regard to future events.

† Probably this is an error of the transcribers. For Fabius was to pay two hundred and fifty drachmas for each prisoner, and he ran

it is not easy to say what a treasure Pericles might have amassed from the allies, and from kings who made their court to him, on account of his great authority ; yet no man ever kept himself more free from corruption.

As for the temples, the public edifices, and other works, with which Pericles adorned Athens, all the structures of that kind in Rome put together, until the times of the Cæsars, deserved not to be compared with them, either in the greatness of the design, or the excellency of the execution.

ALCIBIADES.

THOSE that have searched into the pedigree of Alcibiades, say, that Euryaces, the son of Ajax, was founder of the family ; and that by his mother's side he was descended from Alcæmon : for Dinomache, his mother, was the daughter of Megacles, who was of that line. His father Clinias gained great honour in the sea-fight of Artemisium, where he fought in a galley fitted out at his own expence, and afterwards was slain in the battle of Coroneæ, where the Boeotians won the day. Pericles and Ariphron, the sons of Xanthippus, and near relations to Alcibiades, were his guardians. It is said (and not without reason) that the affection and attachment of Socrates contributed much to his fame. For Nicias, Demosthenes, Lamachus, Phormio, Thrasybulus, Theramenes, were illustrious persons, and his cotemporaries, yet we do not so much as know the name of the mother of either of them ; whereas we know even the nurse of Alcibiades, that she was of Lacedæmon, and that her name was Amyclæ ; as well as that Zopyrus was his schoolmaster ; the one being recorded by Antisthenes, and the other by Plato.

As to the beauty of Alcibiades, it may be sufficient to say, that it retained its charm through the several stages of childhood, youth, and manhood. For it is not universally true what Euripides says,

The very autumn of a form once fine
Retains its beauties.

Some two hundred and forty-seven ; which would stand him sixty-one thousand seven hundred and fifty drachmas, that is, more than ten talents. A very considerable expence to Fabius, which he could not answer without selling his estate.

Yet this was the case of Alcibiades, amongst a few others, by reason of his natural vigour and happy constitution.

He had a lisping in his speech, which became him, and gave a grace and persuasive turn to his discourse. Aristophanes, in those verses wherein he ridicules Theorus, takes notice, that Alcibiades lisped, for instead of calling him Corax, *Raven*, he called him Colax, *Flatterer*; from whence the poet takes occasion to observe, that the term in that lisping pronunciation, too, was very applicable to him. With this agrees the satirical description which Archippus gives of the son of Alcibiades.

With faint'ring spleen, to imitate his father,
The vain youth moves; his loose robe wildly floats;
He bends the neck; he lisps.

His manners were far from being uniform: nor is it strange, that they varied according to the many vicissitudes and wonderful turns of his fortune. He was naturally a man of strong passions; but his ruling passion was an ambition to contend and overcome. This appears from what is related of his sayings when a boy. When hard pressed in wrestling, to prevent his being thrown, he bit the hands of his antagonist; who let go his hold, and said, " You bite, Alcibiades, like a woman." " No," says he, " like a lion."

One day he was playing at dice with other boys in the street; and when it came to his turn to throw, a loaded waggon came up. At first he called to the driver to stop, because he was to throw in the way over which the waggon was to pass. The rustic disregarding him and driving on, the other boys broke way; but Alcibiades threw himself upon his face directly before the waggon, and stretching himself out, bade the fellow drive on if he pleased. Upon this, he was so startled, that he stopped his horses, while those that saw it, ran up to him with terror.

In the course of his education, he willingly took the lessons of his other masters, but refused learning to play upon the flute, which he looked upon as a mean art, and unbecoming a gentleman. " The use of the *plectrum* upon the lyre, he would say, has nothing in it that disorders the features or form, but a man is hardly to be known by his most intimate friends when he plays upon the flute. Besides, the lyre does not hinder the performer from speaking or accompanying it with a song, whereas the flute so engages the mouth and the breath, that it

“ leaves no possibility of speaking. Therefore, let the “ Theban youth pipe, who know not how to discourse : “ but we Athenians, according to the account of our an- “ cestors, have Minerva for our patronnes, and Apollo for “ our protector, one of whom threw away the flute, and “ the other stripped off the man’s skin, who played upon “ it *.” Thus, partly by raillery, and partly by argument, Alcibiades kept both himself and others from learning to play upon the flute : for it soon became the talk among the young men of condition, that Alcibiades was right in holding that art in abomination, and ridiculing those that practised it. Thus it lost its place in the number of liberal accomplishments, and was universally exploded.

In the invective which Antipho wrote against Alcibiades, one story is, that when a boy, he ran away from his guardians to one of his friends named Democrates : and that Aiphron would have had proclamation made for him, had not Pericles diverted him from it, by saying, “ If he is dead, we shall only find him one day the sooner “ for it ; if he is safe, it will be a reproach to him as long “ as he lives.” Another story is, that he killed one of his servants with a stroke of his stick, in Sibyrtius’s place of exercise. But, perhaps, we should not give entire credit to these things, which were professedly written by an enemy to defame him.

Many persons of rank made their court to Alcibiades, but it is evident that they were charmed and attracted by the beauty of his person. Socrates was the only one whose regards were fixed upon the mind, and bore witness to the young man’s virtue and ingenuity ; the rays of which he could distinguish through his fine form. And fearing lest the pride of riches and high rank, and the crowd of flatterers, both Athenians and strangers, should corrupt him, he used his best endeavours to prevent it, and took care that so hopeful a plant should not lose its fruit, and perish in the very flower. If ever fortune so enclosed and fortified a man with what are called her goods, as to render him † inaccessible to the incision-knife of philosophy, and the searching-probe of free advice, surely it was Alcibiades. From

* Marfyas.

† Plutarch’s expression here is not exactly the same with that of the translation, but it is couched in figures which tend the same way, *υετρωτον υπε φιγοφιας γενεσας, και, λογοις απροσιτον παρενοιαν και δημητρον εχειν*—.

the first he was surrounded with pleasure, and a multitude of admirers determined to say nothing but what they thought would please, and to keep him from all admonition and reproof: yet by his native penetration, he distinguished the value of Socrates, and attached himself to him, rejecting the rich and great who sued for his regard.

With Socrates he soon entered into the closest intimacy; and finding that he did not, like the rest of the unmanly crew, want improper favours, but that he studied to correct the errors of his heart, and to cure him of his empty and foolish arrogance.

Then his crest fell, and all his pride was gone,
He droop'd the conquer'd wing.

In fact, he considered the discipline of Socrates as a provision from heaven for the preservation and benefit of youth. Thus despising himself, admiring his friend, adoring his wisdom, and revering his virtue, he insensibly formed in his heart the image of love, or rather came under the influence of that power, who, as Plato says, secure his votaries from vicious love. It surprised all the world to see him constantly sup with Socrates, take with him the exercise of wrestling, lodge in the same tent with him; while to his other admirers he was reserved and rough. Nay, to some he behaved with great insolence, to Anytus (for instance) the son of Anthemion. Anytus was very fond of him, and happening to make an entertainment for some strangers, he desired Alcibiades to give him his company. Alcibiades would not accept of the invitation, but having drank deep with some of his acquaintance at his own house, he went thither to play some frolic. The frolic was this: He stood at the door of the room where the guests were entertained, and seeing a great number of gold and silver cups upon the table, he ordered his servants to take half of them, and carry them to his own house*: and then not vouchsafing so much as to enter into the room himself, as soon as he had done this, he went away. The company resented the affront, and said he had behaved very rudely and insolently to Anytus. "Not at all," said Anytus, "but rather kindly, since he has left us half, when he knew it was in his power to take the whole."

* Athenæus says, he did not keep them himself, but having taken them from this man who was rich, gave them to Thrasyllus, who was poor.

He behaved in the same manner to his other admirers, except only one stranger. This man (they tell us) was but in indifferent circumstances; for when he had sold all, he could make up no more than the sum of one hundred *stateras**; which he carried to Alcibiades, and begged of him to accept it. Alcibiades was pleased at the thing, and, smiling, invited him to supper. After a kind reception and entertainment, he gave him the gold again, but required him to be present the next day when the public revenues were to be offered to farm, and to be sure to be the highest bidder. The man endeavouring to excuse himself, because the rent would be many talents, Alcibiades, who had a private pique against the old farmers, threatened to have him beaten if he refused. Next morning, therefore, the stranger appeared in the market-place, and offered a talent more than the former rent. The farmers uneasy and angry at this, called upon him to name his security, supposing that he could not find any. The poor man was indeed much startled and going to retire with shame, when Alcibiades, who stood at some distance, cried out to the magistrates, "Set down my name; he is my friend, and "I will be his security." When the old farmers of the revenue heard this, they were much perplexed: for their way was, with the profits of the present year to pay the rent of the preceding; so that seeing no other way to extricate themselves out of the difficulty, they applied to the stranger in an humble strain, and offered him money. But Alcibiades would not suffer him to take less than a talent, which accordingly was paid. Having done him this service, he told him he might relinquish his bargain.

Though Socrates had many rivals, yet he kept possession of Alcibiades's heart by the excellence of his genius and the pathetic turn of his conversation, which often drew tears from his young companion. And though sometimes he gave Socrates the slip, and was drawn away by his

* The *statera* was a coin which weighed four Attic drachmas; and was either of gold or silver. The silver was worth about two shillings and sixpence Sterling. The *statera daricus*, a gold coin, was worth twelve shillings and threepence halfpenny: but the Attic *statera* of gold must be worth much more, if we reckon the proportion of gold to silver only at ten to one, as it was then: whereas now it is about sixteen to one. Dacier, then, is greatly mistaken, when he says the *statera* here mentioned by Plutarch was worth only forty French sols; for Plutarch says expressly, that these *stateras* were of gold.

flatterers, who exhausted all the art of pleasure for that purpose, yet the philosopher took care to hunt out his fugitive, who feared and respected none but him; the rest he held in great contempt. Hence that saying of Cleanthes, Socrates gains Alcibiades by the ear, and leaves to his rivals other parts of his body, with which he scorns to meddle. In fact, Alcibiades was very capable of being led by the allurements of pleasure; and what Thucydides says concerning his excesses in his way of living, gives occasion to believe so. Those who endeavoured to corrupt him, attacked him on a still weaker side, his vanity and love of distinction, and led him into vast designs and unseasonable projects, persuading him, that as soon as he should apply himself to the management of public affairs, he should not only eclipse the other generals and orators, but surpass even Pericles himself, in point of reputation as well as interest with the powers of Greece. But as iron, when softened by the fire, is soon hardened again and brought to a proper temper by cold water; so when Alcibiades was enervated by luxury, or swoln with pride, Socrates corrected and brought him to himself by his discourses; for from them he learned the number of his defects and the imperfection of his virtue.

When he was past his childhood, happening to go into a grammar-school, he asked the master for a volume of Homer; and upon his making answer that he had nothing of Homer's, he gave him a box on the ear, and so left him. Another schoolmaster telling him he had Homer, corrected by himself; "How!" said Alcibiades, "and do you employ your time in teaching children to read? you who are able to correct Homer might seem to be fit to instruct men."

One day wanting to speak to Pericles, he went to his house, and being told there that he was busied in considering how to give in his accounts to the people, and therefore not at leisure; he said as he went away, "He had better consider how to avoid giving in any account at all."

While he was yet a youth, he made the campaign at Potidaea, where Socrates lodged in the same tent with him, and was his companion in every engagement. In the principal battle they both behaved with great gallantry; but Alcibiades at last falling down wounded, Socrates advanced to defend him, which he did effectually in the fight of the

whole army, saving both him and his arms. For this the prize of valour was certainly due to Socrates, yet the generals inclined to give it to Alcibiades on account of his quality ; and Socrates willing to encourage his thirst after true glory, was the first who gave his suffrage for him, and pressed them to adjudge him the crown and the complete suit of armour. On the other hand, at the battle of Delium, where the Athenians were routed *, and Socrates, with a few others, was retreating on foot, Alcibiades observing it, did not pass him, but covered his retreat, and brought him safe off, though the enemy pressed furiously forward and killed great numbers of the Athenians. But this happened a considerable time after.

To Hipponicus, the father of Callias, a man respectable both for his birth and fortune, Alcibiades one day gave a box on the ear ; not that he had any quarrel with him or was heated by passion, but purely because, in a wanton frolic, he had agreed with his companions to do so. The whole city being full of the story of his insolence, and every body (as it was natural to expect) expressing some resentment, early next morning Alcibiades went to wait on Hipponicus, knocked at the door, and was admitted. As soon as he came into his presence, he stripped off his garment, and presenting his naked body, desired him to beat and chastise him as he pleased. But instead of that Hipponicus pardoned him, and forgot all his resentment : nay, some time after, he even gave him his daughter Hipparete in marriage. Some say it was not Hipponicus, but his son Callias, who gave Hipparete to Alcibiades, with ten talents to her portion ; and that when he brought him a child he demanded ten talents more, as if he had taken her on that condition. Though this was but a groundless pretence, yet Callias, apprehensive of some bad consequence from his artful contrivances, in a full assembly of the people declared that if he should happen to die without children, Alcibiades should be his heir.

Hipparete made a prudent and affectionate wife ; but at last growing very uneasy at her husband's associating with such a number of courtesans, both strangers and Athenians, she quitted his house and went to her brother's.

* Laches, as introduced by Plato, tells us, that if others had done their duty as Socrates did his, the Athenians would not have been defeated in the battle of Delium. That battle was fought the first year of the eighty-ninth Olympiad, eight years after the battle of Potidea.

Alcibiades went on with his debaucheries, and gave himself no pain about his wife; but it was necessary for her, in order to a legal separation, to give in a bill a divorce to the Archon, and to appear personally with it; for the sending of it by another hand would not do. When she came to do this according to law, Alcibiades rushed in, caught her in his arms, and carried her through the market-place to his own house, no one presuming to oppose him, or to take her from him. From that time she remained with him until her death, which happened not long after, when Alcibiades was upon his voyage to Ephesus. Nor does the violence used, in this case, seem to be contrary to the laws either of society in general, or of that republic in particular. For the law of Athens, in requiring her who wants to be divorced to appear publicly in person, probably intended to give the husband an opportunity to meet with her and to recover her.

Alcibiades had a dog of an uncommon size and beauty, which cost him seventy *mine*, and yet his tail, which was his principal ornament, he caused to be cut off. Some of his acquaintance found great fault with his acting so strangely, and told him, that all Athens rung with the story of his foolish treatment of the dog: At which he laughed and said, " This is the very thing I wanted; for " I would have the Athenians talk of this, lest they should " find something worse to say of me."

The first thing that made him popular *, and introduced him into the administration, was his distributing of money, not by design but accident. Seeing one day a great crowd of people as he was walking along, he asked what it meant; and being informed there was a donative made to the people, he distributed money too as he went in amongst them. This meeting with great applause, he was so much delighted, that he forgot a quail which he had under his robe †, and the bird, frightened with the noise,

* Πρωτοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ παρόδοι εἰς τοὺς δημοσίου — Demosthenes and Aeschines both make use of the word *δημοσίου* to express the administration.

† It was the fashion in those days to breed quails. Plato reports, that Socrates having brought Alcibiades to acknowledge, that the way to rise to distinction among the Athenians, was, to study to excel the generals of their enemies, replied with this severe irony, " No, " no, Alcibiades; your only study is how to surpass Midias in the " art of breeding quails." *Plat. in I. Alcib.*

away. Upon this, the people set up still louder acclamations, and many of them assisted him to recover the quail. The man who did catch it and bring it to him, was one Antiochus*, a pilot, for whom he had ever after a particular regard.

He had great advantages for introducing himself into the management of public affairs, from his birth, his estate, his personal valour, and the number of his friends and relations: but what he chose above all the rest to recommend himself by to the people was the charms of his eloquence. That he was a fine speaker the comic writers bear witness; and so does the prince of orators, in his oration against Midias †, where he says that Alcibiades was the most eloquent man of his time. And if we believe Theophrastus, a curious searcher into antiquity, and more versed in history than the other philosophers, Alcibiades had a peculiar happiness of invention, and readiness of ideas which eminently distinguished him. But as his care was employed not only upon the matter but the expression, and he had not the greatest facility in the latter, he often hesitated in the midst of a speech, not hitting upon the word he wanted, and stopping until it occurred to him.

He was famed for his breed of horses and the number of chariots. For no one besides himself, whether private person or king, ever sent seven chariots at one time to the Olympic games. The first, the second, and the fourth prizes, according to Thucydides, or the third, as Euripides relates it, he bore away at once, which exceeds every thing performed by the most ambitious in that way. Euripides thus celebrates his success:

Great son of Clinias, I record thy glory,
First on the dusty plain
The threefold prize to gain;
What hero boasts thy praise in Grecian story?

* The name of the man who caught the quail would hardly have been mentioned, had not Alcibiades afterwards intrusted him with the command of the fleet in his absence; when he took the opportunity to fight, and was beaten.

† It appears from that passage of Demosthenes, that he spoke only from common fame, and consequently that there was little of Alcibiades's then extant. We find some remains of his oratory in Thucydides.

Twice * does the trumpet's voice proclaim
Around the plausive cirque thy honour'd name :
Twice on thy brow was seen
The peaceful olive's green
The glorious palm of easy purchased fame †.

The emulation which several Grecian cities expressed, in the presents they made him, gave a still greater lustre to his success. Ephesus provided a magnificent pavilion for him; Chios was at the expence of keeping his horses, and beasts for sacrifice; and Lefbos found him in wine and every thing necessary for the most elegant public table. Yet, amidst this success, he escaped not without censure, occasioned either by the malice of his enemies, or by his own misconduct. It seems, there was at Athens one Diomedes, a man of good character and a friend of Alcibiades, who was very desirous of winning a prize at the Olympic games; and being informed, that there was a chariot to be sold, which belonged to the city of Argos, where Alcibiades had a strong interest, he persuaded him to buy it for him. Accordingly he did buy it, but kept it for himself, leaving Diomedes to vent his rage, and to call gods and men to bear witness of the injustice. For this there seems to have been an action brought against him; and there is extant an oration concerning a chariot, written by Isocrates, in defence of Alcibiades, then a youth; but there the plaintiff is named Tisus, not Diomedes.

Alcibiades was very young, when he first applied himself to the business of the republic, and yet he soon showed him-

* Alcibiades won the first, second, and third prizes in person; beside which his chariots won twice in his absence. The latter is what Euripides refers to in the words *αὐτοῖς* and *δις εἴπερτα*.

† Antisthenes, a disciple of Socrates, writes, that Chios fed his horses, and Cyzicus provided his victims. The passage is remarkable, for we learn from it that this was done, not only when Alcibiades went to the Olympic games, but in his warlike expeditions, and even in his travels. " Whenever," says he, " Alcibiades travelled, " four cities of the allies ministered to him as his handmaids. Ephesus " furnished him with tents as sumptuous as those of the Persians; " Chios found provider for his horses; Cyzicus supplied him with " victims and provisions for his table; and Lefbos with wine and all " other necessaries for his household." None but opulent cities were able to answer such an expence: for at the time when Alcibiades won the three prizes in person at the Olympic games, after he had offered a very costly sacrifice to Jupiter, he entertained at a magnificent repast that innumerable company which had assisted at the games.

self superior to the other orators. The persons capable of standing in some degree of competition with him, were Phœax the son of Erafistratus, and Nicias the son of Nicestratus. The latter was advanced in years, and one of the best generals of his time. The former was but a youth, like himself, just beginning to make his way; for which he had the advantage of high birth; but in other respects, as well as in the art of speaking, was inferior to Alcibiades. He seemed fitter for soliciting and persuading in private, than for stemming the torrent of a public debate; in short, he was one of those of whom Eupolis says, “True, he can ‘talk,’ and yet he is no speaker.” There is extant an oration against Alcibiades and Phœax, in which, amongst other things, it is alleged against Alcibiades, that he used at his table many of the gold and silver vessels provided for the sacred processions, as if they had been his own.

There was at Athens one Hyperbolus, of the ward of Perithoïs, whom Thucydides makes mention of as a very bad man, and who was a constant subject of ridicule for the comic writers. But he was unconcerned at the worst things they could say of him, and being regardless of honour, he was also insensible of shame. This, though really impudence and folly, is by some people called fortitude and a noble daring. But, though no one liked him, the people nevertheless made use of him, when they wanted to strike at persons in authority. At his instigation, the Athenians were ready to proceed to the ban of *ostracism*, by which they pull down and expel such of the citizens as are distinguished by their dignity and power, therein consulting their envy rather than their fear.

As it was evident that this sentence was levelled against one of the three, Phœax, Nicias, or Alcibiades, the latter took care to unite the contending parties, and leaguing with Nicias, caused the *ostracism* to fall upon Hyperbolus himself. Some say, it was not Nicias, but Phœax, with whom Alcibiades joined interest, and by whose assistance he expelled their common enemy, when he expected nothing less. For no vile or infamous person had ever undergone that punishment. So Plato, the comic poet, assures us, thus speaking of Hyperbolus:

Well had the caitiff earned his banishment,
But not by *ostracism*; that sentence sacred
To dangerous eminence.

But we have elsewhere given a more full account of what history has delivered down to us concerning this matter*.

Alcibiades was not less disturbed at the great esteem in which Nicias was held by the enemies of Athens, than at the respect which the Athenians themselves paid him. The rights of hospitality had long subsisted between the family of Alcibiades and the Lacedæmonians, and he had taken particular care of such of them as were made prisoners at Pylos; yet when they found, that it was chiefly by the means of Nicias that they obtained a peace and recovered the captives, their regards centered in him. It was a common observation among the Greeks, that Pericles had engaged them in a war, and Nicias had set them free from it; nay, the peace was even called the Nician peace. Alcibiades was very uneasy at this, and out of envy to Nicias determined to break the league.

As soon then as he perceived that the people of Argos both feared and hated the Spartans, and consequently wanted to get clear of all connection with them, he privately gave them hopes of assistance from Athens; and both by his agents and in person, he encouraged the principal citizens not to entertain any fear, or to give up any point, but to apply to the Athenians, who were almost ready to repent of the peace they had made, and would soon seek occasion to break it.

But after the Lacedæmonians had entered into alliance with the Bœotians, and had delivered Panaætus to the Athenians, not with its fortifications, as they ought to have done, but quite dismantled, he took the opportunity, while the Athenians were incensed at this proceeding, to inflame them still more. At the same time he raised a clamour against Nicias, alleging things which had a face of probability; for he reproached him with having neglected, when commander in chief, to make that † party prisoners who

* In the lives of Aristides and Nicias.

† After the Lacedæmonians had lost the fort of Pylos in Messenia, they left in the isle of Sphaæteria, which was opposite that fort, a garrison of three hundred and twenty men, besides Helots, under the command of Epitades the son of Molobrus. The Athenians would have sent Nicias, while commander in chief, with a fleet against that island, but he excused himself. Afterwards Cleon, in conjunction with Demosthenes, got possession of it, after a long dispute wherein several of the garrison were slain, and the rest made prisoners, and sent to Athens. Among those prisoners were an hundred and twenty Spartans, who by the assistance of Nicias got released. The Lacc-

were left by the enemy in Sphaeraria, and with releasing them, when taken by others, to ingratiate himself with the Lacedæmonians. He farther asserted, that though Nicias had an interest with the Lacedæmonians, he would not make use of it to prevent their entering into the confederacy with the Boëtians and Corinthians; but that when an alliance was offered to the Athenians by any of the Grecian states, he took care to prevent their accepting it, if it were likely to give umbrage to the Lacedæmonians.

Nicias was greatly disconcerted; but at that very juncture it happened that ambassadors from Lacedæmon arrived with moderate proposals, and declared that they had full powers to treat and decide all differences in an equitable way. The senate was satisfied, and next day the people were to be convened: but Alcibiades, dreading the success of that audience, found means to speak with the ambassadors in the mean time; and thus he addressed them: "Men of Lacedæmon, what is it you are going to do? Are not you apprised that the behaviour of the senate is always candid and humane to those who apply to it, whereas the people are haughty and expect great concessions? If you say that you are come with full powers, you will find them untractable and extravagant in their demands. Come then, retract that impudent declaration, and if you desire to keep the Athenians within the bounds of reason, and not to have terms extorted from you, which you cannot approve, treat with them as if you had not a discretionary commission. I will use my best endeavours in favour of the Lacedæmonians." He confirmed his promise with an oath, and thus drew them over from Nicias to himself. In Alcibiades they now placed an entire confidence, admiring both his understanding and address in business, and regarding him as a very extraordinary man.

Next day the people assembled, and the ambassadors were introduced. Alcibiades asked them in an obliging manner, what their commission was, and they answered, that they did not come as plenipotentiaries. Then he began to rave and storm, as if he had received an injury, not done one;

daemonians afterwards recovered the fort of Pylos: for Anytus, who was sent with a squadron to support it, finding the wind directly against him, returned to Athens; upon which the people, according to their usual custom, condemned him to die; which sentence, however, he commuted by paying a vast sum of money, being the first who reversed a judgment in that manner.

calling them faithless prevaricating men, who were come neither to do nor to say any thing honourable. The senate was incensed; the people were enraged; and Nicias, who was ignorant of the deceitful contrivance of Alcibiades, was filled with astonishment and confusion at this change.

The proposals of the ambassadors thus rejected, Alcibiades was declared general, and soon engaged the Argives*, the Mantineans and Eleans as allies to the Athenians. Nobody commended the manner of this transaction, but the effect was very great, since it divided and embroiled almost all Peloponnesus, in one day lifted so many arms against the Lacedæmonians at Mantinea, and removed to so great a distance from Athens the scene of war; by which the Lacedæmonians, if victorious, could gain no great advantage, whereas a miscarriage would have risked the very being of their state.

Soon after this battle at Mantinea†, the principal officers‡ of the Argive army attempted to abolish the popular government in Argos, and to take the administration into their own hands. The Lacedæmonians espoused the design, and assisted them to carry it into execution. But the people took up arms again, and defeated their new masters; and Alcibiades coming to their aid, made the victory more complete. At the same time he persuaded them to extend their walls down to the sea, that they might always be in a condition to receive succours from the Athenians. From Athens he sent them carpenters and masons, exerting himself greatly on this occasion, which tended to increase his personal interest and power, as well as that of his country. He advised the people of Patræ, too, to join their city to the sea by long walls. And somebody observing to the Patrenians, “That the Athenians would one day swallow

* He concluded a league with these states for an hundred years, which Thucydides has inserted at full length in his fifth book; and by which we learn that the treaties of the ancient Greeks were no less perfect and explicit than ours. Their treaties were of as little consequence too; for how soon was that broken which the Athenians had made with the Lacedæmonians?

† That battle was fought near three years after the conclusion of the treaty with Argos.

‡ Those officers availed themselves of the conflagration the people of Argos were in after the loss of the battle; and the Lacedæmonians gladly supported them, from a persuasion that if the popular government were abolished, and an aristocracy (like that of Sparta) set up in Argos, they should soon be masters there.

" them up;" " Possibly it may be so," said Alcibiades, " but they will begin with the feet, and do it by little and little, whereas the Lacedæmonians will begin with the head, and to do it all at once." He exhorted the Athenians to assert the empire of the land as well as of the sea; and was ever putting the young warriors in mind to show by their deeds that they remembered the oath they had taken in the temple of Agraulos*. The oath is, that they will consider wheat, barley, vine, and olives, as the bounds of Attica; by which it is insinuated that they should endeavour to possess themselves of all lands that are cultivated and fruitful.

But these his great abilities in politics, his eloquence, his reach of genius, and keenness of apprehension, were tarnished by his luxurious living, his drinking and debauches, his effeminacy of dress, and his insolent profusion. He wore a purple robe with a long train, when he appeared in public. He caused the planks of his galley to be cut away, that he might lie the softer, his bed not being placed upon the boards, but hanging upon girths. And in the wars he bore a shield of gold, which had none of the usual † ensigns of his country, but, in their stead, a cupid bearing a thunderbolt. The great men of Athens saw his behaviour with uneasiness and indignation, and even dreaded the consequence. They regarded his foreign manners, his profusion and contempt of the laws, as so many means to make himself absolute. And Aristophanes well expresses how the bulk of the people were disposed towards him :

They love, they hate, but cannot live without him.

* Agraulos, one of the daughters of Cecrops, had devoted herself to death for the benefit of her country; it has been supposed, therefore, that the oath which the young Athenians took, bound them to do something of that nature, if need should require; though, as given by Plutarch, it implies only an unjust resolution to extend the Athenian dominions to all lands that were worth seizing. Demosthenes mentions the oath in his oration *De Fals. Legat.* but does not explain it.

† Both cities and private persons had, of old, their ensigns, devices, or arms. Those of the Athenians were commonly Minerva, the owl, or the olive. None but people of figure were allowed to bear any devices; nor even they, until they had performed some action to deserve them; in the mean time their shields were plain white. Alcibiades, in his device, referred to the beauty of his person and his martial prowess. Mottos, too, were used. Capaneus, for instance, bore a naked man with a torch in his hand; the motto this, *I will burn the city.* See more in *Æschylus's* tragedy of the *Seven Chiefs.*

And again he satirizes him still more severely by the following allusion :

Nurse not a lion's whelp within your walls,
But if he is brought up there, looth the brute.

The truth is, his prodigious liberality ; the games he exhibited, and the other extraordinary instances of his munificence to the people, the glory of his ancestors, the beauty of his person, and the force of his eloquence, together with his heroic strength, his valour, and experience in war, so gained upon the Athenians, that they connived at his errors, and spoke of them with all imaginable tenderness, calling them follies of youth, and good humoured frolics. Such were his confining Agatharcus the painter*, until he had painted his house, and then dismissing him with a handsome present ; his giving a box on the ear to Taureus, who exhibited games in opposition to him, and vied with him for the preference ; and his taking one of the captive Melian women for his mistress, and bringing up a child he had by her. These were what they called his good-humoured frolics. But surely we cannot bestow that appellation upon the slaughtering of all the males in the Isle of Melos † who had arrived at years of puberty, which was in consequence of a decree that he promoted. Again, when Aristophon had painted the courtezan Nemea with Alcibiades in her arms, many of the people eagerly crowded to see it, but such of the Athenians as were more advanced in years were much displeased, and considered these as sights fit only for a tyrant's court, and as insults on the laws of Athens. Nor was it ill observed by Archestratus, "that Greece could not bear another Alcibiades." When Timon, famed for his misanthropy, saw Alcibiades, after having gained his point, conducted home with great honour from the place of assembly, he did not shun him, as he did other men, but went up to him, and shaking him by the hand thus addressed him : " Go on, my brave boy, and prosper ; for your prosperity will bring on the

* This painter had been familiar with Alcibiades's mistress.

† The Isle of Melos, one of the Cyclades, and a colony of Lacedæmon, was attempted by Alcibiades, the last year of the ninetieth Olympiad, and taken the year following. Thucydides, who has given us an account of this slaughter of the Melians, makes no mention of the decree. Probably he was willing to have the carnage thought the effect of a sudden transport in the soldiery, and not of a cruel and cool resolution of the people of Athens.

"ruin of all this crowd." This occasioned various reflections; some laughed, some railed, and others were extremely moved at the saying. So various were the judgments formed of Alcibiades, by reason of the inconsistency of his character.

In the time of Pericles*, the Athenians had a desire after Sicily, and when he had paid the last debt to nature, they attempted it; frequently, under pretence of succouring their allies, sending aids of men and money to such of the Sicilians as were attacked by the Syracusans. This was a step to greater armaments. But Alcibiades inflamed this desire to an irresistible degree, and persuaded them not to attempt the island in part, and by little and little, but to send a powerful fleet entirely to subdue it. He inspired the people with hopes of great things, and indulged himself in expectations still more lofty: for he did not, like the rest, consider Sicily as the end of his wishes, but rather as an introduction to the mighty expeditions he had conceived. And while Nicias was dissuading the people from the siege of Syracuse, as a business too difficult to succeed in, Alcibiades was dreaming of Carthage and of Lybia: and after these were gained, he designed to grasp Italy and Peloponnesus, regarding Sicily as little more than a magazine for provisions and warlike stores.

The young men immediately entered into his schemes, and listened with great attention to those who under the sanction of age related wonders concerning the intended expeditions; so that many of them sat whole days in the places of exercise, drawing in the dust the figure of the island and plans of Lybia and Carthage. However, we are informed, that Socrates the philosopher, and Meton the astrologer, were far from expecting that these wars would

* Pericles, by his prudence and authority, had restrained this extravagant ambition of the Athenians. He died the last year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, in the third year of the Peloponnesian war. Two years after this, the Athenians sent some ships to Rhegium, which were to go from thence to the succour of the Leontines, who were attacked by the Syracusans. The year following they sent a still greater number; and two years after that, they fitted out another fleet of a greater force than the former; but the Sicilians having put an end to their divisions, and by the advice of Hermocrates (whose speech Thucydides, in his fourth book, gives us at large), having sent back the fleet, the Athenians were so enraged at their generals for not having conquered Sicily, that they banished two of them, Pythodorus and Sophocles, and laid a heavy fine upon Eurymedon. So infatuated were they by their prosperity, that they imagined themselves irresistible.

turn to the advantage of Athens: the former, it should seem, influenced by some prophetic notices with which he was favoured by the genius who attended him; and the latter, either by reasonings which led him to fear what was to come, or else by knowledge with which his art supplied him. Be that as it may, Meton feigned himself mad, and taking a flaming torch, attempted to set his house on fire. Others say, that he made use of no such pretence, but burnt down his house in the night, and in the morning went and begged of the people to excuse his son from that campaign, that he might be a comfort to him under his misfortune. By this artifice he imposed upon them, and gained his point.

Nicias was appointed one of the generals much against his inclination; for he would have declined the command, if it had been only on account of his having such a colleague. The Athenians, however, thought the war would be better conducted, if they did not give free scope to the impetuosity of Alcibiades, but tempered his boldness with the prudence of Nicias. For as to the third general, Lamachus, though well advanced in years, he did not seem to come at all short of Alcibiades in heat and rashness.

When they came to deliberate about the number of the troops, and the necessary preparations for the armament, Nicias again opposed their measures, and endeavoured to prevent the war. But Alcibiades replying to his arguments and carrying all before him, the orator Demosthenes proposed a decree, that the generals should have the absolute direction of the war, and of all the preparations for it. When the people had given their assent, and every thing was got ready for setting sail, unlucky omens occurred, even on a festival which was celebrated at that time. It was the feast of Adonis*; the women walked in procession with images, which represented the dead carried out to burial, acting the lamentations, and singing the mournful dirges usual on such occasions.

* On the feast of Adonis all the cities put themselves in mourning; coffins were exposed at every door; the statues of Venus and Adonis were borne in procession, with certain vessels filled with earth, in which they had raised corn, herbs, and lettuce, and these vessels were called *the gardens of Adonis*. After the ceremony was over, the gardens were thrown into the sea or some river. This festival was celebrated throughout all Greece and Egypt, and among the Jews too, when they degenerated into idolatry, as we learn from *Ezekiel x. 14. And behold there sat women weeping for Tammuz, that is, Adonis.*

“ruin of all this crowd.” This occasioned various reflections; some laughed, some railed, and others were extremely moved at the saying. So various were the judgments formed of Alcibiades, by reason of the inconsistency of his character.

In the time of Pericles*, the Athenians had a desire after Sicily, and when he had paid the last debt to nature, they attempted it; frequently, under pretence of succouring their allies, sending aids of men and money to such of the Sicilians as were attacked by the Syracusans. This was a step to greater armaments. But Alcibiades inflamed this desire to an irresistible degree, and persuaded them not to attempt the island in part, and by little and little, but to send a powerful fleet entirely to subdue it. He inspired the people with hopes of great things, and indulged himself in expectations still more lofty: for he did not, like the rest, consider Sicily as the end of his wishes, but rather as an introduction to the mighty expeditions he had conceived. And while Nicias was dissuading the people from the siege of Syracuse, as a business too difficult to succeed in, Alcibiades was dreaming of Carthage and of Lybia: and after these were gained, he designed to grasp Italy and Peloponnesus, regarding Sicily as little more than a magazine for provisions and warlike stores.

The young men immediately entered into his schemes, and listened with great attention to those who under the sanction of age related wonders concerning the intended expeditions; so that many of them sat whole days in the places of exercise, drawing in the dust the figure of the island and plans of Lybia and Carthage. However, we are informed, that Socrates the philosopher, and Meton the astrologer, were far from expecting that these wars would

* Pericles, by his prudence and authority, had restrained this extravagant ambition of the Athenians. He died the last year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, in the third year of the Peloponnesian war. Two years after this, the Athenians sent some ships to Rhegium, which were to go from thence to the succour of the Leontines, who were attacked by the Syracusans. The year following they sent a still greater number; and two years after that, they fitted out another fleet of a greater force than the former; but the Sicilians having put an end to their divisions, and by the advice of Hermocrates (whose speech Thucydides, in his fourth book, gives us at large), having sent back the fleet, the Athenians were so enraged at their generals for not having conquered Sicily, that they banished two of them, Pythodorus and Sophocles, and laid a heavy fine upon Eurymedon. So infatuated were they by their prosperity, that they imagined themselves irresistible.

turn to the advantage of Athens: the former, it shou'd seem, influenced by some prophetic notices with which he was favoured by the genius who attended him; and the latter, either by reasonings which led him to fear what was to come, or else by knowledge with which his art supplied him. Be that as it may, Meton feigned himself mad, and taking a flaming torch, attempted to set his house on fire. Others say, that he made use of no such pretence, but burnt down his house in the night, and in the morning went and begged of the people to excuse his son from that campaign, that he might be a comfort to him under his misfortune. By this artifice he imposed upon them, and gained his point.

Nicias was appointed one of the generals much against his inclination; for he would have declined the command, if it had been only on account of his having such a colleague. The Athenians, however, thought the war would be better conducted, if they did not give free scope to the impetuosity of Alcibiades, but tempered his boldness with the prudence of Nicias. For as to the third general, Lamachus, though well advanced in years, he did not seem to come at all short of Alcibiades in heat and rashness.

When they came to deliberate about the number of the troops, and the necessary preparations for the armament, Nicias again opposed their measures, and endeavoured to prevent the war. But Alcibiades replying to his arguments and carrying all before him, the orator Demosthenes proposed a decree, that the generals should have the absolute direction of the war, and of all the preparations for it. When the people had given their assent, and every thing was got ready for setting sail, unlucky omens occurred, even on a festival which was celebrated at that time. It was the feast of Adonis *; the women walked in procession with images, which represented the dead carried out to burial, acting the lamentations, and singing the mournful dirges usual on such occasions.

* On the feast of Adonis all the cities put themselves in mourning; coffins were exposed at every door; the statues of Venus and Adonis were borne in procession, with certain vessels filled with earth, in which they had raised corn, herbs, and lettuce, and these vessels were called *the gardens of Adonis*. After the ceremony was over, the *gardens* were thrown into the sea or some river. This festival was celebrated throughout all Greece and Egypt, and among the Jews too, when they degenerated into idolatry, as we learn from *Ezekiel x. 14. And behold there sat women weeping for Tammuz, that is, Adonis.*

Add to this the mutilating and disfiguring of almost all the statues of Mercury *, which happened in one night ; a circumstance which alarmed even those who had long despised things of that nature. It was imputed to the Corinthians, of whom the Syracusans were a colony ; and they were supposed to have done it, in hopes that such a prodigy might induce the Athenians to desist from the war. But the people paid little regard to this insinuation, or to the discourses of those who said that there was no manner of ill presage in what had happened, and that it was nothing but the wild frolic of a parcel of young fellows, flushed with wine, and bent on some extravagance. Indignation and fear made them take this event not only for a bad omen, but for the consequence of a plot which aimed at greater matters ; and therefore both senate and people assembled several times within a few days, and very strictly examined every suspicious circumstance.

In the mean time, the demagogue Androcles produced some Athenian slaves and certain sojourners, who accused Alcibiades and his friends of defacing some other statues, and of mimicking the sacred mysteries in one of their drunken revels : on which occasion, they said, one Thedorus represented the herald, Polytion the torch-bearer, and Alcibiades the high-priest ; his other companions attending as persons initiated, and therefore called Mystræ. Such was the import of the deposition of Thessalus the son of Cimon, who accused Alcibiades of impiety towards the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine. The people being much provoked at Alcibiades, and Androcles, his bitterest enemy, exasperating them still more, at first he was somewhat disconcerted. But when he perceived that the seamen and soldiers too, intended for the Sicilian expedition, were on his side, and heard a body of Argives and Mantineans, consisting of a thousand men, declare, that they were willing to cross the seas, and to run the risk of a foreign war for the sake of Alcibiades, but that if any injury were done to him, they would immediately march home again ; then he recovered his spirits, and appeared to defend himself. It was now his enemy's turn to be discouraged, and to fear that the people, on account of the need they had of him, would be favourable in their sentence. To obviate this inconvenience, they persuaded certain orators who were not

* The Athenians had statues of Mercury at the doors of their houses, made of stones of a cubical form.

reputed to be his enemies, but hated him as heartily as the most professed ones, to move it to the people, “ That it was extremely absurd, that a general who was invested with a discretionary power and a very important command, when the troops were collected, and the allies all ready to sail, should lose time, while they were casting lots for judges, and filling the glasses with water, to measure out the time of his defence. ‘ In the name of the gods let him fail, and when the war is concluded, be accountable to the laws, which will still be the same.’ ”

Alcibiades easily saw their malicious drift in wanting to put off the trial, and observed, “ That it would be an intolerable hardship to leave such accusations and calumnies behind him, and be sent out with so important a commission, while he was in suspense as to his own fate. ‘ That he ought to suffer death, if he could not clear himself of the charge ; but if he could prove his innocence, justice required that he should be set free, from all fear of false accusers, before they sent him against their enemies.’ ” But he could not obtain that favour. He was indeed ordered to set sail * ; which he accordingly did, together with his colleagues, having near an hundred and forty galleys in his company, five thousand one hundred heavy-armed soldiers, and about a thousand three hundred archers, slingers, and others light-armed ; with suitable provisions and stores.

Arriving on the coast of Italy, he landed at Rhegium. There he gave his opinion as to the manner in which the war should be conducted, and was opposed by Nicias : but as Lamachus agreed with him, he sailed to Sicily, and made himself master of Catana †. This was all he performed, being soon sent for by the Athenians to take his trial. At first, as we have observed, there was nothing against him but slight suspicions, and the depositions of slaves and persons who sojourned in Athens. But his enemies took advantage of his absence to bring new matter of impeachment, adding to the mutilating of the statues his sacrilegious behaviour with respect to the mysteries, and alleging that both these crimes flowed from the same source ‡,

* The second year of the eighty-first Olympiad, and seventeenth of the Peloponnesian war.

† By surprise. *Thucyd.* lib. vi.

‡ They gave out, that he had entered into a conspiracy to betray the city to the Lacedaemonians, and that he had persuaded the Athenians to undertake something to their prejudice.

a conspiracy to change the government. All that were accused of being any ways concerned in it, they committed to prison unheard ; and they repented exceedingly, that they had not immediately brought Alcibiades to his trial, and got him condemned upon so heavy a charge. While this fury lasted, every relation, every friend and acquaintance of his was very severely dealt with by the people.

Thucydides has omitted the names of the accusers, but others mention Dioclides and Teucer. So Phrynicus, the comic poet,

Good *Hermes*, pray, beware a fall ; nor break
Thy marble nose, lest some false Dioclides
Once more his shafts in fatal poison drench.

Merc. I will. Nor e'er again shall that informer,
Teucer, that faithless stranger, boast from me
Rewards for perjury.

Indeed, no clear or strong evidence was given by the informers*. One of them being asked how he could distinguish the faces of those who disfigured the statues, answered, that he discerned them by the light of the moon ; which was a plain falsity, for it was done at the time of the moon's change. All persons of understanding exclaimed against such baseness ; but this detection did not in the least pacify the people ; they went on with the same rage and violence with which they had begun, taking informations, and committing all to prison whose names were given in.

Among those that were then imprisoned, in order to their trial, was the orator Andocides, whom Hellanicus the historian reckons among the descendants of Ulysses. He was thought to be no friend to a popular government, but a favourer of oligarchy. What contributed not a little to his being suspected of having some concern in defacing the *Hermes*, was, that the great statue of Mercury, which was placed near his house, being consecrated to that god by the tribe called the *Aegeis*, was almost the only one, amongst the more remarkable, which was left entire. Therefore to this day it is called the *Hermes of Andocides*, and that title universally prevails, though the inscription does not agree with it.

* ————— *αιτιας ανθικαυτης*. The translation of 1758, renders it *pregnant proofs*, though Plutarch observes a little lower that the proofs were very weak, and the evidence false and inconsistent.

It happened that among those who were imprisoned on the same account, Andocides contracted an acquaintance and friendship with one Timæus : a man not equal in rank to himself, but of uncommon parts and a daring spirit. He advised Andocides to accuse himself and a few more ; because the decree promised impunity to any one that would confess and inform, whereas the event of the trial was uncertain to all, and much to be dreaded by such of them as were persons of distinction. He represented that it was better to save his life by a falsity, than to suffer an infamous death as one really guilty of the crime ; and that with respect to the public, it would be an advantage to give up a few persons of dubious character, in order to rescue many good men from an enraged populace.

Andocides was prevailed upon by these arguments of Timæus ; and informing against himself and some others, enjoyed the impunity promised by the decree ; but all the rest whom he named were capitally punished, except a few that fled. Nay, to procure the greater credit to his deposition, he accused even his own servants.

However, the fury of the people was not so satisfied ; but turning from the persons who had disfigured the Hermæ, as if it had reposèd awhile only to recover its strength, it fell totally upon Alcibiades. At last they sent the Salaminian galley to fetch him, artfully enough ordering their officer not to use violence, or to lay hold on his person, but to behave to him with civility, and to acquaint him with the people's orders that he should go and take his trial, and clear himself before them. For they were apprehensive of some tumult and mutiny in the army, now it was in an enemy's country, which Alcibiades, had he been so disposed, might have raised with all the ease in the world. Indeed, the soldiers expressed great uneasiness at his leaving them, and expected that the war would be spun out to a great length by the dilatory counsels of Nicias, when the spur was taken away. Lamachus, indeed, was bold and brave, but he was wanting both in dignity and weight, by reason of his poverty.

Alcibiades immediately embarked * : the consequence of which was, that the Athenians could not take Messena.

* He prudently embarked on a vessel of his own, and not on the Salaminian galley.

There were persons in the town ready to betray it, whom Alcibiades perfectly knew, and as he apprised some that were friends to the Syracusans of their intention, the affair miscarried.

As soon as he arrived at Thurii, he went on shore, and concealing himself there, eluded the search which was made after him. But some person knowing him, and saying, "Will not you, then, trust your country?" he answered, "As to any thing else I will trust her; but with my life I would not trust even my mother, lest she should mistake a black bean for a white one." Afterwards being told that the republic had condemned him to die, he said, "But I will make them find that I am alive."

The information against him ran thus: "Theffalus, the son of Cimon, of the ward of Laciæ, accuseth Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, of the ward of Scammonis, of sacrilegiously offending the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine, by counterfeiting their mysteries, and showing them to his companions in his own house. Wearing such a robe as the high-priest does while he shows the holy things, he called himself high-priest, as he did Polytion torch-bearer, and Theodorus of the ward of Phygea, herald: and the rest of his companions he called *persons initiated**, and *brethren of the secret*; herein acting contrary to the rules and ceremonies established by the Eumolpidae†, the heralds and priests at Eleusis." As he did not appear, they condemned him, confiscated his goods, and ordered all the priests and priestesses to denounce an execration against him; which was denounced accordingly by all but Theano, the daughter of Menon, priests of the temple of Agraulos, who excused herself, alleging that *she was a priestess for prayer, not for execration*.

While these decrees and sentences were passing against Alcibiades, he was at Argos; having quitted Thurii, which

* The *Myſte* or persons initiated were to remain a year under probation, during which time they were to go no further than the vestibule of the temple; after that term was expired they were called *epoptæ*, and admitted to all the mysteries, except such as were reserved for the priests only.

† Eumolpus was the first who settled these mysteries of Ceres, for which reason his descendants had the care of them after him; and when his line failed, those who succeeded in the function, were notwithstanding, called Eumolpidae.

no longer afforded him a safe asylum, to come into Peloponnesus. Still dreading his enemies, and giving up all hopes of being restored to his country, he sent to Sparta to desire permission to live there under the protection of the public faith, promising to serve that state more effectually, now he was their friend, than he had annoyed them, whilst their enemy. The Spartans granting him a safe conduct, and expressing their readiness to receive him, he went thither with pleasure. One thing he soon effected, which was to procure succours for Syracuse without farther hesitation or delay, having persuaded them to send Gylippus thither, to take upon him the direction of the war, and to crush the Athenian power in Sicily. Another thing which he persuaded them to, was to declare war against the Athenians, and to begin its operations on the continent: and the third, which was the most important of all, was to get Decelea fortified: for this being in the neighbourhood of Athens, was productive of great mischief to that commonwealth*.

These measures procured Alcibiades the public approbation at Sparta, and he was no less admired for his manner of living in private. By conforming to their diet and other austeries, he charmed and captivated the people. When they saw him close shaved, bathing in cold water, feeding on their coarse bread, or eating their black broth, they could hardly believe that such a man had ever kept a cook in his house, seen a perfumer, or worn a robe of Milesian purple. It seems, that amongst his other qualifications, he had the very extraordinary art of engaging the affections of those with whom he conversed by imitating and adopting their customs and way of living. Nay, he turned himself into all manners of forms with more ease than the chameleon changes his colour. It is not, we are told, in that animal's power to assume a white, but Alcibiades could adapt him-

* Agis king of Sparta, at the head of a very numerous army of Lacedæmonians, Corinthians, and other nations of Peloponnesus, invaded Attica, and according to the advice which Alcibiades had given, seized and fortified Decelea, which stood at an equal distance from Athens and the frontiers of Bœotia, by means of which the Athenians were now deprived of the profits of the silver mines, of the rents of their lands, and of the succours of their neighbours. But the greatest misfortune which happened to the Athenians, from the beginning of the war to this time, was that which befel them this year in Sicily, where they not only lost the conquest they aimed at, together with the reputation they had so long maintained, but their fleet, their army, and their generals.

self either to good or bad, and did not find any thing which he attempted, impracticable. Thus at Sparta he was all for exercise, frugal in his diet, and severe in his manners. In Asia he was as much for mirth and pleasure, luxury and ease. In Thrace, again, riding and drinking were his favourite amusements: and in the palace of Tissaphernes, the Persian grandee, he outvied the Persians themselves in pomp and splendour. Not that he could with so much ease change his real manners, or approve in his heart the form which he assumed; but because he knew that his native manners would be unacceptable to those whom he happened to be with, he immediately conformed to the ways and fashions of whatever place he came to. When he was at Lacedæmon, if you regarded only his outside, you would say as the proverb does, *This is not the son of Achilles, but Achilles himself;* this man has surely been brought up under the eye of Lycurgus: but then if you looked more nearly into his disposition and his actions, you would exclaim with Electra in the poet, *The same weak woman still!** For while king Agis was employed in a distant expedition, he corrupted his wife Timæa so effectually, that she was with child by him, and did not pretend to deny it; and when she was delivered of a son, though in public she called him Leotychidas, yet in her own house she whispered to her female friends and to her servants, that his true name was Alcibiades. To such a degree was the woman transported by her passion. And Alcibiades himself, indulging his vein of mirth, used to say, “ His motive was not to injure the king, or to satisfy his appetite, but that his offspring might one day sit on the throne of Lacedæmon.” Agis had information of these matters from several hands, and he was the more ready to give credit to them, because they agreed with the time. Terrified with an earthquake, he had quitted his wife's chamber, to which he returned not for the next ten months: at the end of which Leotychidas being born, he declared the child was not his; and for this reason he was never suffered to inherit the crown of Sparta.

After the miscarriage of the Athenians in Sicily, the people of Chios, of Lesbos, and Cyzicium, sent to treat with the Spartans about quitting the interests of Athens,

* This is spoken of Helen one, in the *Orestes* of Euripides, upon her discovering the famous vanity andfollicitude about her beauty, when advanced in years, that she had when she was young.

and putting themselves under the protection of Sparta. The Boeotians on this occasion, solicited for the Lesbians, and Pharnabazus for the people of Cyzicium, but at the persuasion of Alcibiades, succours were sent to those of Chios before all others. He likewise passed over into Ionia, and prevailed with almost all that country to revolt, and attending the Lacedæmonian generals in the execution of most of their commissions, he did great prejudice to the Athenians.

But Agis, who was already his enemy on account of the injury done to his bed, could not endure his glory and prosperity; for most of the present successes were ascribed to Alcibiades. The great and the ambitious among the Spartans were indeed, in general, touched with envy; and had influence enough with the civil magistrates, to procure orders to be sent to their friends in Ionia to kill him. But timely foreseeing his danger, and cautioned by his fears, in every step he took he still served the Lacedæmonians, taking care all the while not to put himself in their power. Instead of that, he sought the protection of Tissaphernes, one of the grandees of Persia, or lieutenants of the king. With this Persian he soon attained the highest credit and authority: for himself a very subtle and insincere man, he admired the art and keenness of Alcibiades. Indeed, by the elegance of his conversation and the charms of his politeness, every man was gained, all hearts were touched. Even those that feared and envied him were not insensible to pleasure in his company; and while they enjoyed it, their resentment was damped. Tissaphernes, in all other cases savage in his temper, and the bitterest enemy that Greece experienced among the Persians, gave himself up, notwithstanding, to the flatteries of Alcibiades, insomuch that he even vied with and exceeded him in address. For of all his gardens, that which excelled in beauty, which was remarkable for the salubrity of its streams and the freshness of its meadows, which was set off with pavilions royally adorned, and retirements finished in the most elegant taste, he distinguished by the name of *Alcibiades*; and every one continued to give it that appellation.

Rejecting, therefore, the interests of Lacedæmon, and fearing that people as treacherous to him, he represented them and their king Agis, in a disadvantageous light, to Tissaphernes. He advised him not to assist them effectually, nor absolutely to ruin the Athenians, but to send his sub-

fidies to Sparta with a sparing hand; that so the two powers might insensibly weaken and consume each other, and both at last be easily subjected to the king. Tissaphernes readily followed his counsels, and it was evident to all the world that he held him in the greatest admiration and esteem; which made him equally considerable with the Greeks of both parties. The Athenians repented of the sentence they had passed upon him, because they had suffered for it since: and Alcibiades, on his side, was under some fear and concern, lest, if their republic were destroyed, he should fall into the hands of the Lacedæmonians who hated him.

At that time the whole strength of the Athenians lay at Samos. With their ships sent out from thence, they recovered some of the towns which had revolted, and others they kept to their duty; and at sea they were in some measure able to make head against their enemies. But they were afraid of Tissaphernes, and the Phœnician fleet of an hundred and fifty ships, which were said to be coming against them; for against such a force they could not hope to defend themselves. Alcibiades, apprised of this, privately sent a messenger to the principal Athenians at Samos, to give them hopes that he would procure them the friendship of Tissaphernes: not to recommend himself to the people, whom he could not truſ; but to oblige the nobility, if they would but exert their superiority, repress the insolence of the commonalty, and taking the government into their own hands, by that means save their country.

All the officers readily embraced his proposal, except Phrynicus, who was of the ward of *Dirades*. He alone suspected what was really the case, that it was a matter of very little consequence to Alcibiades whether an oligarchy or democracy prevailed in Athens; that it was his businesſ to get himself recalled by any means whatever, and that therefore, by his invectives against the people, he wanted only to insinuate himself into the good graces of the nobility. Upon these reaſons proceeded the opposition of Phrynicus: but ſeeing his opinion disregarded, and that Alcibiades must certainly become his enemy, he gave ſecret intelligence to Aſtyochus, the enemy's admiral, of the double part which Alcibiades acted, advising him to beware of his deſigns, and to ſecure his perſon. But he knew not that while he was betraying, he was himſelf betrayed. For Aſtyochus wanting to make his court to Tissaphernes, informed

Alcibiades of the affair, who, he knew, had the ear of that grandee.

Alcibiades immediately sent proper persons to Samos with an accusation against Phrynicus; who seeing no other resource, as every body was against him, and expressed great indignation at his behaviour, attempted to cure one evil with another and a greater. For he sent to Attyochus to complain of his revealing his secret, and to offer to deliver up to him the whole Athenian fleet and army. This treason of Phrynicus, however, did no injury to the Athenians, because it was again betrayed by Attyochus; for he laid the whole matter before Alcibiades. Phrynicus had the sagacity to foresee, and expect another accusation from Alcibiades, and to be beforehand with him, he himself forewarned the Athenians, that the enemy would endeavour to surprise them, and therefore desired them to be upon their guard, to keep on board their ships, and to fortify their camp.

While the Athenians were doing this, letters came from Alcibiades again, advising them to beware of Phrynicus, who had undertaken to betray their fleet to the enemy: but they gave no credit to these dispatches, supposing that Alcibiades, who perfectly knew the preparations and intentions of the enemy, abused that knowledge to the raising of such a calumny against Phrynicus. Yet afterwards, when Phrynicus was stabbed in full assembly by one of Hermon's soldiers who kept guard that day, the Athenians taking cognizance of the matter, after his death, condemned Phrynicus as guilty of treason, and ordered Hermon and his party to be crowned for dispatching a traitor.

The friends of Alcibiades, who now had a superior interest at Samos, sent Pisander to Athens, to change the form of government, by encouraging the nobility to assume it, and to deprive the people of their power and privileges, as the condition upon which Alcibiades would procure them the friendship and alliance of Tissaphernes. This was the colour of the pretence made use of by those who wanted to introduce an oligarchy. But when that body which were called *the five thousand*, but in fact were only *four hundred**.

* It was at first proposed that only the dregs of the people should lose their authority, which was to be vested in five thousand of the most wealthy, who were for the future to be reputed the people. But when Pisander and his associates found the strength of their party, they car-

had got the power into their hands, they paid but little attention to Alcibiades, and carried on the war but slowly: partly distrusting the citizens who did not yet relish the new form of government, and partly hoping that the Lacedæmonians, who were always inclined to favour an oligarchy, would not press them with their usual vigour.

Such of the commonalty as were at home, were silent through fear, though much against their will; for a number of those who had openly opposed the *four hundred*, were put to death. But, when they that were at Samos were informed of the affair, they were highly incensed at it, and inclined immediately to set sail for the Piræus. In the first place, however, they sent for Alcibiades, and having appointed him their general, ordered him to lead them against the tyrants, and demolish both them and their power. On such an occasion, almost any other man, suddenly exalted by the favour of the multitude, would have thought he must have complied with all their humours, and not have contradicted those in any thing, who, from a fugitive and a banished man, had raised him to be commander in chief of such a fleet and army. But he behaved as became a great general, and prevented their plunging into error through the violence of their rage. This care of his evidently was the saving of the commonwealth. For if they had failed home, as they promised, the enemy would have seized on Iouia immediately, and have gained the Hellespont and the islands without striking a stroke; while the Athenians would have been engaged in a civil war, of which Athens itself must have been the seat. All this was prevented chiefly by Alcibiades, who not only tried what arguments would do with the army in general, and informed them of their danger, but applied to them one by one, using entreaties to some and force to others; in which he was assisted by the loud harangues of Thrasybulus of the ward of Stira, who attended him through the whole, and had the strongest voice of any man among the Athenians.

Another great service performed by Alcibiades, was, his undertaking that the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians expected from the king of Persia, should either

ried is that the old form of government should be dissolved, and that five *Prytanes* should be elected; that these five should choose a hundred; that each of the hundred should choose three; that the four hundred thus elected should become a senate with supreme power, and should consult the five thousand only when and on such matters as they thought fit.

join the Athenians, or at least not act on the enemy's side. In consequence of this promise, he set out as expeditiously as possible; and prevailed upon Tissaphernes not to forward the ships, which were already come as far as Aspendus, but to disappoint and deciv the Lacedæmonians. Nevertheless, both sides, and particularly the Lacedæmonians, accused Alcibiades of hindering that fleet from coming to their aid; for they supposed he had instructed the Persians to leave the Greeks to destroy each other. And, indeed, it was obvious enough, that such a force added to either side, would entirely have deprived the other of the dominion of the sea.

After this, the *four hundred* were soon quashed*, the friends of Alcibiades very readily afflising those who were for a democracy. And now the people in the city not only wished for him, but commanded him to return†; yet he thought it not best to return with empty hands, or without having effected something worthy of note, but instead of being indebted to the compassion and favour of the multitude, to distinguish his appearance by his merit. Parting, therefore, from Samos with a few ships, he cruised on the sea of Cnidus and about the Isle of Coos, where he got intelligence that Mindarus the Spartan admiral, was sailed with his whole fleet towards the Hellepont, to find out the Athenians. This made him hafren to the assistance of the latter, and fortunately enough he arrived with his eighteen ships at the very juncture of time, when the two fleets having engaged near Abydos, continued the fight from morning until night, one side having the advantage in the right wing, and the other on the left ‡.

On the appearance of his squadron, both sides entertained a false opinion of the end of his coming; for the Spartans were encouraged and the Athenians struck with terror. But he soon hoisted the Athenian flag on the admiral galley, and bore down directly upon the Peloponnesians, who now had the advantage, and were urging the pursuit. His vi-

* The same year that they were set up, which was the second of the ninety-second Olympiad. The reader must carefully distinguish this faction of four hundred from the state of four hundred established by Solon, which these turned out the few months they were in power.

† *Διοτο δειν παν νεανις ξεροι ποιει απαρτοις.* —

‡ Thucydides does not say a word of Alcibiades, but probably he did not live to have a considerable share of the influence, for he died this year. Xenophon who continued his history, mentions it.

gorous impression put them to flight, and following them close he drove them ashore, destroying their ships, and killed such of their men as endeavoured to save themselves by swimming: though Pharnabazus succoured them all he could from the shore, and with an armed force attempted to save their vessels. The conclusion was, that the Athenians, having taken thirty of the enemy's ships, and recovered their own, erected a trophy.

After this glorious success, Alcibiades, ambitious to show himself as soon as possible to Tissaphernes, prepared presents and other proper acknowledgments for his friendship and hospitality, and then went to wait upon him, with a princely train. But he was not welcomed in the manner he expected: for Tissaphernes, who, for some time, had been accused by the Lacedæmonians, and was apprehensive that the charge might reach the king's ear, thought the coming of Alcibiades a very seasonable incident, and therefore put him under arrest and confined him at Sardis, imagining that injurious proceeding would be a means to clear himself.

Thirty days after, Alcibiades having by some means or other obtained a horse, escaped from his keepers, and fled to Clazomenæ; and, by way of revenge, he pretended that Tissaphernes privately set him at liberty. From thence he passed to the place where the Athenians were stationed; and being informed, that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were together at Cyzicium, he showed the troops that it was necessary for them to fight both by sea and land, nay, even to fight with stone walls, if that should be required, in order to come at their enemies: for, if the victory were not complete and universal, they could come at no money. Then he embarked the forces, and sailed to Proconnesus, where he ordered them to take the lighter vessels into the middle of the fleet, and to have a particular care that the enemy might not discover that he was coming against them. A great and sudden rain which happened to fall at that time, together with dreadful thunder and darkness, was of great service in covering his operations. For not only the enemy were ignorant of his design, but the very Athenians, whom he had ordered in great haste on board, did not presently perceive that he was under sail. Soon after, the weather cleared up, and the Peloponnesian ships were seen riding at anchor in the road of Cyzicium. Left, therefore, the enemy should be alarmed at the largeness of his fleet, and

savv themselves by getting on shore, he directed many of the officers to slacken sail, and keep out of sight, while he showed himself with forty ships only, and challenged the Lacedæmonians to the combat. The stratagem had its effect ; for despising the small number of galleys which they saw, they immediately weighed anchor, and engaged ; but the rest of the Athenian ships coming up during the engagement, the Lacedæmonians were struck with terror, and fled.—Upon that, Alcibiades with twenty of his best ships, breaking through the midst of them, hastened to the shore, and having made a descent, pursued those that fled from the ships, and killed great numbers of them. He likewise defeated Mindarus and Pharnabazus, who came to their succour. Mindarus made a brave resistance, and was slain ; but Pharnabazus saved himself by flight.

The Athenians remained masters of the field, and of the spoils, and took all the enemy's ships. Having also possessed themselves of Cyzicium, which was abandoned by Pharnabazus, and deprived of the assistance of the Peloponnesians, who were almost all cut off, they not only secured the Hellespont, but entirely cleared the sea of the Lacedæmonians. The letter also was intercepted, which, in the Laconic style, was to give the *Ephori* an account of their misfortune. “ Our glory is faded, Mindarus is slain. Our soldiers are starving ; and we know not what step to take.”

On the other hand, Alcibiades's men were so elated, and took so much upon them, because they had always been victorious, that they would not vouchsafe even to mix with other troops that had been sometimes beaten. It happened not long before, that Thrasyllus having miscarried in his attempt upon Ephesus, the Ephesians erected a trophy of brafs in reproach of the Athenians*. The soldiers of Alcibiades, therefore, upbraided those of Thrasyllus with this affair, magnifying themselves and their general, and disdaining to join the others, either in the place of exercise or in the camp. But soon after, when Pharnabazus, with a strong body of horse and foot, attacked the forces of Thrasyllus, who were ravaging the country about Abydos, Alcibiades marched to their assistance, routed the enemy,

* Trophies before had been of wood, but the Ephesians erected this of brafs, to perpetuate the infamy of the Athenians ; and it was this new and mortifying circumstance with which Alcibiades's soldiers reproached those of Thrasyllus. *Diodor. lib. xiii.*

and, together with Thrasyllus, pursued them until night. Then he admitted Thrasyllus into his company, and with mutual civilities and satisfaction, they returned to the camp. Next day he erected a trophy, and plundered the province which was under Pharnabazus, without the least opposition. The priests and priestesses he made prisoners, among the rest, but soon dismissed them without ransom. From thence he intended to proceed and lay siege to Chalcedon, which had withdrawn its allegiance from the Athenians, and received a Lacedemonian garrison and governor; but being informed that the Chalcedonians had collected their cattle and corn, and sent it all to the Bithynians, their friends, he led his army to the frontier of the Bithynians, and sent a herald before him to *sunnoa* them to surrender it. They, dreading his resentment, gave up the booty, and entered into an alliance with him.

Afterwards he returned to the siege of Chalcedon, and enclosed it with a wall which reached from sea to sea. Pharnabazus advanced to raise the siege, and Hippocrates, the governor, sallied out with his whole force to attack the Athenians. But Alcibiades drew up his army so as to engage them both at once, and he defeated them both; Pharnabazus betaking himself to flight, and Hippocrates being killed, together with the greatest part of his troops. This done, he sailed into the Hellespont, to raise contributions in the towns upon the coast.

In this voyage he took Selybria: but in the action unnecessarily exposed himself to great danger. The persons who promised to surrender the town to him, agreed to give him a signal at midnight with a lighted torch; but they were obliged to do it before the time, for fear of some one that was in the secret, who suddenly altered his mind. The torch, therefore, being held up before the army was ready, Alcibiades took about thirty men with him, and ran to the walls, having ordered the rest to follow as fast as possible. The gate was opened to him, and twenty of the conspirators, lightly armed, joined his small company, he advanced with great spirit, but soon perceived the Selybrians, with their weapons in their hands, coming forward to attack him. As to stand and fight promised no sort of success, and he who to that hour had never been defeated, did not choose to fly, he ordered a trumpet to command silence, and proclamation to be made, that *the Selybrians should not, under the pain of the Republic's high displeasure,*

take up arms againſt the Athenians. Their inclination to the combat was then immediately damped, partly from a ſuſpicion that the whole Athenian army was within the walls, and partly from the hopes they conceived of coming to tolerable terms. Whilſt they were talking together of this order, the Athenian army came up, and Alcibiades rightly conjecturing that the inclinations of the Selybrians were for peace, was afraid of giving the Thracians an opportunity to plunder the town. These last came down in great numbers to ſerve under him as volunteers, from a particular attachment to his perſon; but on this occaſion he ſent them all out of the town; and, upon the ſubmiſſion of the Selybrians, he ſaved them from being pillaged, demanding only a ſum of money, and leaſing a garrison in the place.

Meantime, the other generals, who carried on the ſiege of Chalcedon, came to an agreement with Pharnabazus on these conditions; namely, that a ſum of money should be paid them by Pharnabazus; that the Chalcedonians ſhould return to their allegiance to the republic of Athens: and that no injury ſhould be done the province of which Pharnabazus was governor, who undertook that the Athenian ambaffadors ſhould be conducted ſafe to the king. Upon the return of Alcibiades, Pharnabazus defiſed, that he too would ſwear to the performance of the articles, but Alcibiades inſiſted that Pharnabazus ſhould ſwear first. When the treaty was reciprocally confirmed with an oath, Alcibiades went againſt Byzantium, which had revolted, and drew a line of circumvallation about the city. While he was thus employed, Anaxilaus, Lycurgus, and ſome others, ſecretly promised to deliver up the place, on condition that he would keep it from being plundered. Hereupon, he caused it to be reported, that certain weighty and unexpected affairs called him back to Ionia, and in the day-time he ſet ſail with his whole fleet; but returned at night, he himſelf diſembarked with the land-forces, and poſting them under the walls, he commanded them not to make the leaſt noise. At the fame time the ſhips made for the harbour, and the crews preſſing in with loud ſhouts and great tumult, alſtonished the Byzantines, who expected no ſuch matter. Thus an opportunity was given to thoſe within the walls, who favoured the Athenians, to receive them in great ſecurity, while every body's attention was engaged upon the harbour and the ſhips.

The affair passed not, however, without blows. For the Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Megarensians, who were at Byzantium, having driven the ships crews back to their vessels, and perceiving that the Athenian land-forces were got into the town, charged them too with great vigour. The dispute was sharp, and the shock great, but victory declared for Alcibiades and Theramenes. The former of these generals commanded the right wing, and the latter the left. About three hundred of the enemy, who survived, were taken prisoners. Not one of the Byzantines, after the battle, was either put to death, or banished; for such were the terms on which the town was given up, that the citizens should be safe in their persons and their goods.

Hence it was, that when Anaxilaus was tried at Lacedæmon for treason, he made a defence which reflected no disgrace upon his past behaviour; for he told them, "That not being a Lacedæmonian, but a Byzantine, and seeing not Lacedæmon but Byzantium in danger, its communication with those that might have relieved it, stopped; and the Peloponnesians and Bœotians eating up the provisions that were left, while the Byzantines with their wives and children, were starving; he had not betrayed the town to an enemy, but delivered it from calamity and war: herein imitating the worthiest men among the Lacedæmonians, who had no other rule of justice and honour, but by all possible means to serve their country." The Lacedæmonians were so much pleased with this speech, that they acquitted him, and all that were concerned with him.

Alcibiades, by this time, desirous to see his native country, and still more desirous to be seen by his countrymen, after so many glorious victories, set sail with the Athenian fleet, adorned with many shields and other spoils of the enemy; a great number of ships that he had taken making up the rear, and the flags of many more which he had destroyed, being carried in triumph; for all of them together were not fewer than two hundred. But as to what is added by Duris the Samian, who boasts of his being descended from Alcibiades, that the oars kept time to the flute of Chrysogonus, who had been victorious in the Pythian games; that Callipides, the tragedian, attired in his buskins, magnificent robes, and other theatrical ornaments, gave orders to those who laboured at the oars; and that the admiral galley entered the harbour with a

purple sail; as if the whole had been a company who had proceeded from a debauch to such a frolic; these are particulars not mentioned either by Theopompus, Ephorus, or Xenophon. Nor is it probable that at his return from exile, and after such misfortunes as he had suffered, he would insult the Athenians in that manner. So far from it, that he approached the shore with some fear and caution; nor did he venture to disembark, until, as he stood upon the deck, he saw his cousin Euryptolemus, with many others of his friends and relations, coming to receive and invite him to land.

When he was landed, the multitude that came out to meet him, did not vouchsafe so much as to look upon the other generals, but crowding up to him, hailed him with shouts of joy, conducted him on the way, and such as could approach him, crowned him with garlands; while those that could not come up so close, viewed him at a distance, and the old men pointed him out to the young.— Many tears were mixed with the public joy, and the memory of past misfortunes, with the sense of their present success. For they concluded that they should not have miscarried in Sicily, or indeed have failed in any of their expectations, if they had left the direction of affairs, and the command of the forces to Alcibiades; since now having exerted himself in behalf of Athens, when it had almost lost its dominion of the sea, was hardly able to defend its own suburbs, and was moreover harassed with intestine broils, he had raised it from that low and ruinous condition, so as not only to restore its maritime power, but to render it victorious every where by land.

The act for recalling him from banishment had been passed at the motion of Critias the son of Calliaschrus *, as appears from his elegies, in which he puts Alcibiades in mind of his service :

If you no more in hapless exile mourn,
The praise is mine——

* This Critias was uncle to Plato's mother, and the same that he introduces in his Dialogues. Though now the friend of Alcibiades, yet, as the lust of power destroys all ties, when one of the thirty tyrants, he became his bitter enemy, and sending to Lysander, assured him that Athens would never be quiet, or Sparta safe, until Alcibiades was destroyed. Critias was afterwards slain by Thrasybulus, when he delivered Athens from that tyranny.

The people presently meeting in full assembly, Alcibiades came in among them, and having in a pathetic manner bewailed his misfortunes, he very modestly complained of their treatment, ascribing all to his hard fortune, and the influence of some envious demon. He then proceeded to discourse of the hopes and designs of their enemies, against whom he used his utmost endeavours to animate them. And they were so much pleased with his harangue, that they crowned him with crowns of gold, and gave him the absolute command of their forces, both by sea and land. They likewise made a decree that his estate should be restored to him, and that the Eumolpide and the heralds should take off the execrations which they had pronounced against him by order of the people. Whilist the rest were employed in expiations for this purpose, Theodorus, the high-priest, said, "For his part, he had never denounced any curse against him, if he had done no injury to the commonwealth."

Amidst this glory and prosperity of Alcibiades, some people were still uneasy, looking upon the time of his arrival as ominous. For on that very day was kept the *plynteria**, or purifying of the goddess Minerva. It was the twenty-fifth of May, when the praxiergidæ perform those ceremonies which are not to be revealed, disrobing the image, and covering it up. Hence it is that the Athenians, of all days, reckon this the most unlucky, and take the most care not to do business upon it. And it seemed that the goddess did not receive him graciously, but rather with aversion, since she hid her face from him. Notwithstanding all this, every thing succeeded according to his wish; three hundred galleys were manned, and ready to put to sea again; but a laudable zeal detained him until the celebration of the mysteries †. For after the Lacedæmonians had fortified Decelea, which commanded the roads to Eleusis, the feast was not kept with its usual pomp, because they were obliged to conduct the procession by sea; the sacrifices, the sacred dances, and other ceremonies

* On that day, when the statue of Mineira was washed, the temples were encompassed with a cord, to denote that they were shut up, as was customary on all inauspicious days. They carried dried figs in procession, because that was the first fruit which was eaten after acorns.

† The festival of Ceres and Proserpine continued nine days. On the sixth they carried in procession to Eleusis the statue of Bacchus, whom they supposed to be the son of Jupiter and Ceres.

which had been performed on the way, called holy, while the image of Bacchus was carried in procession, being on that account necessarily omitted. Alcibiades, therefore, judged it would be an act conducive to the honour of the gods, and to his reputation with men, to restore those rites to their due solemnity, by conducting the procession with his army, and guarding it against the enemy. By that means, either king Agis would be humbled, if he suffered it to pass unmolested; or if he attacked the convoy, Alcibiades would have a fight to maintain in the cause of piety and religion, for the most venerable of its mystics, in the fight of his country; and all his fellow citizens would be witnesses of his valour.

When he had determined upon this, and communicated his design to the *Eumolpidae* and the heralds, he placed sentinels upon the eminences, and set out his advanced guard as soon as it was light. Next he took the priests, the persons initiated, and those who had the charge of initiating others, and covering them with his forces, led them on in great order and profound silence; exhibiting in that march a spectacle so august and venerable, that those who did not envy him declared, he had performed not only the office of a general, but of a high-priest: not a man of the enemy dared to attack him, and he conducted the procession back in great safety; which both exalted him in his own thoughts, and gave the soldiery such an opinion of him, that they considered themselves as invincible while under his command. And he gained such an influence over the mean and indigent part of the people, that they were passionately desirous to see him invested with absolute power; insomuch that some of them applied to him in person, and exhorted him, in order to quash the malignity of envy at once, to abolish the privileges of the people, and the laws, and to quell those busy spirits who would otherwise be the ruin of the state; for then he might direct affairs and proceed to action, without fear of groundless impeachments.

What opinion he himself had of this proposal we know not; but this is certain, that the principal citizens were so apprehensive of his aiming at arbitrary power, that they got him to embark as soon as possible; and the more to expedite the matter, they ordered, among other things, that he should have the choice of his colleagues. Putting to sea, therefore, with a fleet of an hundred ships, he sailed to the Isle of Andros, where he fought and defeated the Andrians.

and such of the Lacedæmonians as assisted them. But yet he did not take the city, which gave his enemies the first occasion for the charge which they afterwards brought against him. Indeed, if ever man was ruined by a high distinction of character, it was Alcibiades*. For his continual successes had procured such an opinion of his courage and capacity, that when afterwards he happened to fail in what he undertook, it was suspected to be from want of inclination, and no one would believe it was from want of ability; they thought nothing too hard for him, when he pleased to exert himself. They hoped also to hear that Chios was taken, and all Ionia reduced, and grew impatient when every thing was not dispatched as suddenly as they desired. They never considered the smallness of his supplies, and that having to carry on the war against people who were furnished out of the treasury of a great king, he was often laid under the necessity of leaving his camp, to go in search of money and provisions for his men.

This it was that gave rise to the last accusation against him. Lysander, the Lacedæmenian admiral, out of the money he received from Cyrus, raised the wages of each mariner from three *oboli* a day to four, whereas it was with difficulty that Alcibiades paid his men three. The latter, therefore, went into Caria to raise money, leaving the fleet in charge with Antiochus †, who was an experienced seaman, but rash and inconsiderate. Though he had express orders from Alcibiades to let no provocation from the enemy bring him to hazard an engagement, yet in his contempt of those orders, having taken some troops on board his own galley and one more, he stood for Ephesus, where the enemy lay, and as he sailed by the heads of their ships, insulted them in the most insufferable manner both by words and actions. Lysander sent out a few ships to pursue him; but as the whole Athenian fleet came up to assist Antiochus, he drew out the rest of his and gave battle, and gained a complete victory. He slew Antiochus himself, took many ships and men, and erected a trophy. Upon

* It was not altogether the universality of his success that rendered Alcibiades suspected, when he came short of public expectation. The duplicity of his character is obvious from the whole account of his life. He paid not the least regard to veracity in political matters; and it is not to be wondered if such principles made him continually obnoxious to the suspicion of the people.

† This was he who caught the quail for him.

this disagreeable news, Alcibiades returned to Samos, from whence he moved with the whole fleet, to offer Lysander battle. But Lysander content with the advantage he had gained, did not think proper to accept it.

Among the enemies which Alcibiades had in the army, Thrasylus, the son of Thrason, being the most determined, quitted the camp, and went to Athens to impeach him. To incense the people against him, he declared in full assembly, that Alcibiades had been the ruin of their affairs, and the means of losing their ships, by his insolent and imprudent behaviour in command, and by leaving the direction of every thing to persons who had got into credit with him through the great merit of drinking deep and cracking seamen's jokes; whilst he was securely traversing the provinces to raise money, indulging his love of liquor, or abandoning himself to his pleasures with the courtesans of Iona and Abydos: and this at a time when the enemy was stationed at a small distance from his fleet. It was also objected to him, that he had built a castle in Thrace near the city of Bisanthe, to be made use of as a retreat for himself, as if he either could not, or would not live any longer in his own country. The Athenians giving ear to these accusations, to show their resentment and dislike to him, appointed new commanders of their forces*.

Alcibiades was no sooner informed of it, than, consulting his own safety, he entirely quitted the Athenian army.— And having collected a band of strangers, he made war on his own account against those Thracians who acknowledged no king. The booty he made raised him great sums; and at the same time he defended the Grecian frontier against the barbarians.

Tydeus, Menander, and Adimantus, the new-made generals, being now at *Ægos Potamos*†, with all the ships which the Athenians had left, used to stand out early every morning and offer battle to Lysander, whose station was at Lampascus, and then to return and pass the day in a dif-

* They appointed ten generals. Xenoph. lib. i.

† Plutarch passes over almost three years; namely, the twenty-fifth of the Peloponnesian war; the twenty-sixth, in which the Athenians obtained the victory at Arginase and put six of the ten generals to death upon a slight accusation of their colleague Theramenes; and almost the whole twenty-seventh, towards the end of which the Athenians failed to *Ægos Potamos*, where they received the blow that is spoken of in this place.

orderly and careless manner, as if they despised their adversary. This seemed to Alcibiades, who was in the neighbourhood, a matter not to be passed over without notice. He therefore went and told the generals*, "He thought " their station by no means safe in a place where there was " neither town nor harbour; that it was very inconvenient " to have their provisions and stores from so distant a place " as Sestos; and extremely dangerous to let their seamen " go ashore, and wander about at their pleasure; whilst " a fleet was observing them, which was under the orders of " one man, and the strictest discipline imaginable. He " therefore advised them to remove their station to Sestos."

The generals, however, gave no attention to what he said; and Tydeus was so insolent as even to bid him begone, for that they, not he, were now to give orders. Alcibiades, suspecting that there was some treachery in the case, retired, telling his acquaintance, who conducted him out of the camp, that if he had not been insulted in such an insupportable manner by the generals, he would in a few days have obliged the Lacedæmonians, however unwilling, either to come to an action at sea, or else to quit their ships. This to some appeared a vain boast; to others it seemed not at all improbable, since he might have brought down a number of Thracian archers and cavalry, to attack and harass the Lacedæmonian camp †.

The event soon showed that he judged right of the errors which the Athenians had committed. For Lysander falling upon them, when they least expected it, eight galleys only escaped ‡, along with Conon; the rest, not much short of two hundred, were taken and carried away, together with three thousand prisoners, who were afterwards put to death. And within a short time after Lysander took Athens itself, burnt the shipping and demolished the long walls.

Alcibiades, alarmed at this success of the Lacedæmonians, who were now masters both at sea and land, retired into Bithynia. Thither he ordered much treasure to be

* The officers at the head of the Grecian armies and navy, we sometimes call generals, sometimes admirals, because they commonly commanded both by sea and land.

† When a fleet remained some time at one particular station, there was generally a body of land-forces, and part of the marines too encamped upon the shore.

‡ There was a ninth ship called Paralus which escaped, and carried the news of their defeat to Athens. Conon himself retired to Cyprus.

feat, and took large sums with him, but still left more behind in the castle where he had resided. In Bithynia he once more lost great part of his substance, being slighted by the Thracians there; which determined him to go to Artaxerxes, and entreat his protection. He imagined that the king, upon trial, would find him no less serviceable than Themistocles had been, and he had a better pretence to his patronage; for he was not going to solicit the king's aid against his countrymen, as Themistocles had done, but for his country against its worst enemies. He concluded that Pharnabazus was most likely to procure him a safe conduct, and therefore went to him in Phrygia, where he stayed some time, making his court, and receiving marks of respect.

It was a grief to the Athenians to be deprived of their power and dominion, but when Lysander robbed them also of their liberty, and put their city under the authority of thirty chiefs, they were still more miserably afflicted. Now their affairs were ruined, they perceived with regret the measures which would have saved them, and which they had neglected to make use of; now they acknowledged their blindness and errors, and looked upon their second quarrel with Alcibiades as the greatest of those errors.— They had cast him off without any offence of his: their anger had been grounded upon the ill conduct of his lieutenant in losing a few ships, and their own conduct had been still worse in depriving the commonwealth of the most excellent and valiant of all its generals. Yet amidst their present misery there was one slight glimpse of hope, that while Alcibiades survived, Athens could not be utterly undone. For he, who before was not content to lead an inactive, though peaceable life, in exile, would not now, if his own affairs were upon any tolerable footing, sit still and see the insolence of the Lacedaemonians, and the madness of the thirty tyrants, without endeavouring at some remedy. Nor was it at all unnatural for the multitude to dream of such relief, since those thirty chiefs themselves were so solicitous to inquire after Alcibiades, and gave so much attention to what he was doing and contriving.

At last, Critias represented to Lysander, that the Lacedaemonians could never securely enjoy the empire of Greece till the Athenian democracy were absolutely destroyed. And though the Athenians seemed at present to bear an oligarchy with some patience, yet Alcibiades, if he lived, would not suffer them long to submit to such a kind of

government. Lyfander, however, could not be prevailed upon by these arguments, until he received private orders from the magistrates of Sparta *, to get Alcibiades dispatched ; whether it was that they dreaded his great capacity, and enterprising spirit, or whether it was done in complaisance to king Agis. Lyfander then sent to Pharnabazus to desire him to put this order in execution ; and he appointed his brother Magacus, and his uncle Sufamithres to manage the affair.

Alcibiades at that time resided in a small village in Phrygia, having his mistress Timandra with him. One night he dreamed that he was attired in his mistress's habit †, and that as she held him in her arms she dressed his head, and painted his face like a woman's. Others say, he dreamed that Magacus cut off his head and burnt his body ; and we are told, that it was but a little before his death that he had this vision. Be that as it may, those that were sent to assassinate him, not daring to enter his house, surrounded it, and set it on fire. As soon as he perceived it, he got together large quantities of clothes and hangings, and threw them upon the fire to choke it ; then having wrapt his robe about his left hand, and taking his sword in his right, he fell through the fire, and got safe out before the stuff which he had thrown upon it could catch the flame. At sight of him the barbarians dispersed, not one of them daring to wait for him, or to encounter him hand to hand ; but standing at a distance, they pierced him with their darts and arrows. Thus fell Alcibiades. The barbarians retiring after he was slain, Timandra wrapt the body in her own robes ‡, and buried it as decently and honourably as her circumstances would allow.

Timandra is said to have been mother to the famous Lais, commonly called the Corinthian, though Lais was brought a captive from Hyrcane a little town in Sicily.

Some writers, though they agree as to the manner of Alcibiades's death, yet differ about the cause. They tell

* The *Scytala* was sent to him.

† Alcibiades had dreamed that Timandra attired him in her own habit.

‡ She buried him in a town called Melissa ; and we learn from Athenaeus (*in Deipnosoph.*) that the monument remained to his time, for he himself saw it. The emperor Adrian, in memory of so great a man, caused his statue of Persian marble to be set up thereon, and ordered a bull to be sacrificed to him annually.

us, that catastrophe is not to be imputed to Pharnabazus, or Lyfander, or the Lacedæmonians; but that Alcibiades having corrupted a young woman of a noble family, in that country, and keeping her in his house, her brothers, incensed at the injury, set fire, in the night, to the house in which he lived, and upon his breaking through the flames killed him in the manner we have related *.

CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS.

THE family of the Marcii afforded Rome many illustrious patricians. Of this house was Aeneus Marcius, who was grandson to Numa by his daughter; as were also Publius and Quintus Marcius, who supplied Rome with plenty of the best water. Censorinus, too, who was twice appointed *Censor* by the people of Rome, and who procured a law that no man should ever bear that office twice afterwards, had the same pedigree.

Caius Marcius, of whom I now write, was brought up by his mother in her widowhood; and from him it appeared, that the loss of a father, though attended with other disadvantages, is no hinderance to a man's improving in virtue and attaining to a distinguished excellence; though bad men sometimes allege it as an excuse for their corrupt lives. On the other hand, the same Marcius became witness to the truth of that maxim, that if a generous and noble nature be not thoroughly formed by discipline, it will shoot forth many bad qualities along with the good, as the richest soil, if not cultivated, produces the rankest weeds. His undaunted courage and firmness of mind excited him to many great actions, and carried him through them with honour. But, at the same time, the violence of his passions, his spirit of contention and excessive obstinacy, rendered him untractable and disagreeable in conversation. So that those

* Ephorus the historian, as he is cited by Diodorus Siculus (lib. xiv.), gives an account of his death, quite different from those recited by Plutarch. He says, that Alcibiades having discovered the design of Cyrus the younger to take up arms, informed Pharnabazus of it, and desired that he might carry the news to the king; but Pharnabazus envying him that honour, sent a confident of his own, and took all the merit to himself. Alcibiades suspecting the matter, went to Paphlagonia, and sought to procure from the governor letters of credence to the king; which Pharnabazus understanding, hired people to murder him. He was slain in the fortieth year of his age.

very persons who saw with admiration his soul unshaken with pleasures, toils and riches, and allowed him to be possessed of the virtues of temperance, justice, and fortitude, yet in the councils and affairs of state, could not endure his imperious temper, and that savage manner which was too haughty for a republic. Indeed there is no other advantage to be had from a liberal education, equal to that of polishing and softening our nature by reason and discipline; for that produces an evenness of behaviour, and banishes from our manners all extremes. There is this, however, to be said, that in those times military abilities were deemed by the Romans the highest excellence, inasmuch that the term which they use for virtue in general, was applied by them to valour in particular.

Marcius, for his part, had a more than ordinary inclination for war, and therefore from a child began to handle his weapons. As he thought that artificial arms avail but little, unless those with which nature has supplied us be well improved and kept ready for use, he so prepared himself by exercise for every kind of combat, that while his limbs were active and nimble enough for pursuing, such was his force and weight in wrestling and in grappling with the enemy, that none could easily get clear of him. Those therefore that had any contest with him for the prize of courage and valour, though they failed of success, flattered themselves with imputing it to his invincible strength, which nothing could resist or fatigue.

He made his first campaign when he was very young *, when Tarquin, who had reigned in Rome, was driven from the throne, and after many battles fought with bad success, was now venturing all upon the last throw. Most of the people of Latium and many other states of Italy were now afflicting and marching towards Rome, to re-establish him, not through any regard they had for Tarquin, but for fear and envy of the Romans, whose growing greatness they were desirous to check. A battle ensued, with various turns of fortune. Marcius distinguished himself that day in sight of the dictator; for seeing a Roman pushed down at a small distance from him, he hastened to his help, and standing before him, he engaged his adversary and slew him. When the dispute was decided in favour of the Romans,

* In the first year of the seventy-first Olympiad, the two hundred and fifty-eighth of Rome, four hundred and ninety-third before the Christian era.

the general presented Marcius, among the first, with an oaken crown*. This is the reward which their custom assigns to the man who saves the life of a citizen; either because they honoured the oak for the sake of the Arcadians, whom the oracle called *Acorn-eaters*; or because an oaken branch is most easy to be had, be the scene of action where it will; or because they think it most suitable to take a crown for him who is the means of saving a citizen, from the tree which is sacred to Jupiter the protector of cities. Besides, the oak bears more and fairer fruit than any tree that grows wild, and is the strongest of those that are cultivated in plantations. It afforded the first ages both food and drink by its acorns and honey; and supplied men with birds and other creatures for dainties, as it produced the mistletoe, of which birdlime is made †.

Castor and Pollux are said to have appeared in that battle, and with their horses dropping sweat to have been seen soon after in the *forum*, announcing the victory near the fountain, where the temple now stands. Hence also it is said, that the fifteenth of July ‡, being the day on which that victory was gained, is consecrated to those sons of Jupiter.

It generally happens, that when men of small ambition are very early distinguished by the voice of fame, their thirst of honour is soon quenched and their desires satiated; whereas deep and solid minds are improved and brightened by marks of distinction, which serve, as a brisk gale, to drive them forward in the pursuit of glory. They do not so much think that they have received a reward, as that they have given a pledge, which would make them blush to fall short of the expectations of the public, and therefore they endeavour by their actions to exceed them. Marcius had a soul of this frame. He was always endeavouring to excel himself, and meditating some exploit which might set

* The Civic crown was the foundation of many privileges. He who had once obtained it, had a right to wear it always. When he appeared at the public spectacles, the senators rose up to do him honour. He was placed near their bench; and his father, and grandfather by the father's side, were entitled to the same privileges. Here was an encouragement to merit, which cost the public nothing, and yet was productive of many great effects.

† It does not anywhere appear that the ancients made use of the oak in ship-building: how much nobler an encomium might an English historian afford that tree than Plutarch has been able to give it!

‡ By the great disorder of the Roman calendar, the fifteenth of July then fell upon the twenty-fourth of our October.

him in a new light, adding achievement to achievement, and spoils to spoils; therefore the latter generals under whom he served, were always striving to outdo the former in the honours they paid him, and in the tokens of their esteem. The Romans at that time were engaged in several wars, and fought many battles, and there was not one that Marcius returned from without some honorary crown, some ennobling distinction. The end which others proposed in their acts of valour was glory; but he pursued glory because the acquisition of it delighted his mother. For when she was witness to the applauses he received, when she saw him crowned, when she embraced him with tears of joy, then it was that he reckoned himself at the height of honour and felicity. Epaminondas (they tell us) had the same sentiments, and declared it the chief happiness of his life, that his father and mother lived to see the generalship he exerted and the victory he won at Leuctra. He had the satisfaction, indeed, to see both his parents rejoice in his success, and partake of his good fortune; but only the mother of Marcius, Volumnia, was living, and therefore holding himself obliged to pay her all that duty which would have belonged to his father, over and above what was due to herself, he thought he could never sufficiently express his tenderness and respect. He even married in compliance with her desire and request, and after his wife had borne him children, still lived in the same house with his mother.

At the time when the reputation and interest which his virtue had procured him in Rome, was very great, the senate, taking the part of the richer sort of citizens, were at variance with the common people, who* were used by their creditors with intolerable cruelty. Those that had something considerable, were stript of their goods, which were either detained for security, or sold; and those that had nothing were dragged into prison, and there bound with fetters, though their bodies were full of wounds, and worn out with fighting for their country. The last expedition they were engaged in, was against the Sabines, on which occasion their rich creditors promised to treat them with more lenity, and, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, M. Valerius the consul was guarantee of that promise. But

* Πασχειν δούλωτα signifies the same as πεσοντα. So 1 Cor. vii. 40. δοκω δι ναγω πνευμα θεος εχειν, instead of *I think also that I have the Spirit of God*, should be translated, and *I have the spirit of God*.

when they had cheerfully undergone the fatigues of that war, and were returned victorious, and yet found that the usurers made them no abatement, and that the senate pretended to remember nothing of that agreement, but without any sort of concern saw them dragged to prison, and their goods feized upon as formerly, then they filled the city with tumult and sedition.

The enemy, apprised of these intestine broils, invaded the Roman territories, and laid them waste with fire and sword. And when the consuls called upon such as were able to bear arms to give in their names, not a man took any notice of it. Something was then to be done, but the magistrates differed in their opinions. Some thought the poor should have a little indulgence, and that the extreme rigour of the law ought to be softened. Others declared absolutely against that proposal, and particularly Marcius. Not that he thought the money a matter of great consequence, but he considered this specimen of the people's insolence as an attempt to subvert the laws, and the forerunner of farther disorders, which it became a wise government timely to restrain and suppress.

The senate assembled several times within the space of a few days, and debated this point, but as they came to no conclusion, on a sudden the commonalty rose one and all, and encouraging each other, they left the city, and withdrew to the hill now called *Sacred*, near the river *Anio*, but without committing any violence or other act of sedition. Only as they went along, they loudly complained,

“ That it was now a great while since the rich had driven
“ them from their habitations; that Italy would any
“ where supply them with air and water and a place of
“ burial; and that Rome, if they stayed in it, would afford
“ them no other privilege, unless it were such, to bleed
“ and die in fighting for their wealthy oppressors.”

The senate were then alarmed, and from the oldest men of their body selected the most moderate and popular to treat with the people. At the head of them was Menenius Agrippa, who after much entreaty addressed to them, and many arguments in defence of the senate, concluded his discourse with this celebrated fable: “ The members of
“ the human body once mutinied against the belly, and
“ accused it of lying idle and useless, while they were all
“ labouring and toiling to satisfy its appetites: but the
“ belly only laughed at their simplicity, who knew not

“ that though it received all the nourishment into itself,
 “ it prepared and distributed it again to all parts of the
 “ body. Just so my fellow-citizens,” said he, “ stands the
 “ case between the senate and you. For their necessary
 “ counsels and acts of government, are productive of ad-
 “ vantage to you all, and distribute their salutary influence
 “ amongst the whole people.”

After this they were reconciled to the senate, having demanded and obtained the privilege of appointing five men*, to defend their rights on all occasions. These are called tribunes of the people. The first that were elected, were Junius Brutus†, and Sicinius Vellutus, the leaders of the secession. When the breach was thus made up, the plebeians soon came to be enrolled as soldiers, and readily obeyed the orders of the consuls relative to the war. As for Marcius, though he was far from being pleased at the advantage which the people had gained, as it was a lessening of the authority of the patricians, and though he found a considerable part of the nobility of his opinion, yet he exhorted them not to be backward wherever the interest of their country was concerned, but to show themselves superior to the commonalty rather in virtue than in power.

Corioli was the capital of the country of the Volscians, with whom the Romans were at war. And as it was besieged by the Consul Cominius, the rest of the Volscians were much alarmed; and assembled to succour it, intending to give the Romans battle under the walls, and to attack them on both sides. But after Cominius had divided his forces, and with part went to meet the Volscians without, who were marching against him, leaving Titus Lartius an illustrious Roman, with the other part, to carry on the siege, the inhabitants of Corioli despised the body that were left,

* The tribunes were at first five in number; but a few years after five more were added. Before the people left the *Mens Sacer*, they passed a law, by which the persons of the tribunes were made sacred. Their sole function was to interpose in all grievances offered the plebeians by their superiors. This interposing was called *intercessio*, and was performed by standing up and pronouncing the single word *veto*, I forbid it. They had their seats placed at the door of the senate, and were never admitted into it, but when the consuls called them to ask their opinion upon some affair that concerned the interests of the people.

† The name of this tribune was Lucius Junius, and because Lucius Junius Brutus was famed for delivering his country from the tyraanic yoke of the kings, he also assumed the surname of Brutus, which exposed him to a great deal of ridicule.

and sallied out to fight them. The Romans at first were obliged to give ground, and were driven to their entrenchments. But Marcius with a small party flew to their assistance, killed the foremost of the enemy, and stopping the rest in their career, with a loud voice called the Romans back. For he was (what Cato wanted a soldier to be) not only dreadful for the thunder of his arm, but of voice too, and had an aspect which struck his adversaries with terror and dismay. Many Romans then crowding about him, and being ready to second him, the enemy retired in confusion. Nor was he satisfied with making them retire; he pressed hard upon their rear, and pursued them quite up to the gates. There he perceived that his men discontinued the pursuit, by reason of the shower of arrows which fell from the walls, and that none of them had any thoughts of rushing along with the fugitives into the city which was filled with warlike people, who were all under arms: nevertheless he exhorted and encouraged them to press forward, crying out, "That fortune had opened the gates rather to the victors than to the vanquished." But as few were willing to follow him, he broke through the enemy, and pushed into the town with the crowd, no one at first daring to oppose him, or even to look him in the face. But when he cast his eyes around and saw so small a number within the walls, whose service he could make use of in that dangerous enterprise, and that friends and foes were mixed together, he summoned all his force and performed the most incredible exploits, whether you consider his heroic strength, his amazing agility, or his bold and daring spirit; for he overpowered all that were in his way, forcing some to seek refuge in the farthest corners of the town, and others to give out and throw down their arms; which afforded Lartius an opportunity to bring in the rest of the Romans unmolested.

The city thus taken, most of the soldiers fell to plundering, which Marcius highly resented; crying out, "That it was a shame for them to run about after plunder, or, under pretence of collecting the spoils, to get out of the way of danger, while the consul and the Romans under his command were, perhaps, engaged with the enemy." As there were not many that listened to what he said, he put himself at the head of such as offered to follow him, and took the route which he knew would lead him to the consul's army; sometimes pressing his small party to hasten

their march, and conjuring them not to suffer their ardour to cool, and sometimes begging of the gods that the battle might not be over before he arrived, but that he might have his share in the glorious toils and dangers of his countrymen.

It was customary with the Romans of that age when they were drawn up in order of battle, and ready to take up their shields and gird their garments about them, to make a nuncupative will, naming each his heir, in the presence of three or four witnesses. While the soldiers were thus employed, and the enemy in sight, Marcius came up. Some were startled at his first appearance, covered as he was with blood and sweat. But when he ran cheerfully up to the consul, took him by the hand, and told him that Corioli was taken, the consul clasped him to his heart; and those who heard the news of that success, and those who did but guess at it were greatly animated, and with shouts demanded to be led on to the combat. Marcius inquired of Cominius, in what manner the enemy's army was drawn up, and where their best troops were posted. Being answered, that the Antiates who were placed in the centre, were supposed to be the bravest and most warlike, "I beg of you then," said Marcius, "as a favour, that you will place me directly opposite to them." And the consul admiring his spirit, readily granted his request.

When the battle was begun with the throwing of spears*, Marcius advanced before the rest, and charged the centre of the Volscians with so much fury, that it was soon broken. Nevertheless, the wings attempted to surround him; and the consul alarmed for him, sent to his assistance a select band which he had near his own person. A sharp conflict then ensued about Marcius, and a great carnage was quickly made; but the Romans pressed the enemy with so much vigour that they put them to flight. And when they were going upon the pursuit, they begged of Marcius, now almost weighed down with wounds and fatigue, to retire to the camp. But he answered, "That it was not for conquerors to be tired," and so joined them in prosecuting the victory. The whole army of the Volscians was defeated, great numbers killed, and many made prisoners.

Next day, Marcius waiting upon the consul, and the army being assembled, Cominius mounted the rostrum;

* Ως δοκει τις λας δοκειν.

and, having in the first place returned due thanks to the gods for such extraordinary success, addressed himself to Marcius. He began with a detail of his gallant actions, of which he had himself been partly an eye-witness, and which had partly been related to him by Lartius. Then out of the great quantity of treasure, the many horses and prisoners they had taken, he ordered him to take a tenth, before any distribution was made to the rest, beside making him a present of a fine horse with noble trappings, as a reward for his valour.

The army received this speech with great applause ; and Marcius, stepping forward, said, “ That he accepted of “ the horse, and was happy in the consul’s approbation ; “ but as for the rest, he considered it rather as a pecuniary “ reward than as a mark of honour, and therefore desired “ to be excused, being satisfied with his single share of “ the booty. One favour only in particular,” continued he, “ I desire, and beg I may be indulged in. I have a “ friend among the Volscians, bound with me in the sa- “ cred rites of hospitality*, and a man of virtue and ho- “ nour. He is now among the prisoners, and from easy “ and opulent circumstances reduced to servitude. Of the “ many misfortunes under which he labours, I should be “ glad to rescue him from one, which is that of being sold “ as a slave.”

These words of Marcius were followed with still louder acclamations ; his conquering the temptations of money being more admired than the valour he had exerted in battle. For even those who before regarded his superior honours with envy and jealousy, now thought him worthy of great things because he had greatly declined them, and were more struck with that virtue which led him to despise such extraordinary advantages, than with the merit which claimed them. Indeed, the right use of riches is more commendable than that of arms ; and not to desire them at all, more glorious than to use them well.

When the acclamations were over, and the multitude silent again, Cominius subjoined, “ You cannot, indeed,

* With the former translator, we have rendered it thus, instead of *Hof*, which is indeed the literal sense, but sounds uncouthly in English ; as it conveys to the unlearned reader the idea of an innkeeper. Among the ancients, one friend called another of a different nation *ξενος μου*, *my stranger*, or *βεσπες μευς*, *my host*, because on their travels or other occasions they entertained each other at their houses.

“ my fellow-soldiers, force these gifts of yours upon a person so firmly resolved to refuse them; let us then give him what it is not in his power to decline, let us pass a vote that he be called **CORIOLANUS**, if his gallant behaviour at Corioli has not already bestowed that name upon him.” Hence came his third name of Coriolanus. By which it appears, that Caius was the proper name; that the second name, Marcius, was that of the family; and that the third Roman appellative was a peculiar note of distinction, given afterwards on account of some particular act of fortune, or signature, or virtue of him that bore it. Thus among the Greeks additional names were given to some on account of their achievements, as *Soter*, *the preserver*, and *Callinicus*, *the victorious*; to others, for something remarkable in their persons, as *Physcon*, *the gore-bellied*, and *Grypus*, *the eagle-nosed*; or for their good qualities, as *Euergetes*, *the benefactor*, and *Philadelphus*, *the kind brother*; or their good fortune, as *Eudæmon*, *the prosperous*, a name given to the second prince of the family of the Batti. Several princes also have had satirical names bestowed upon them; Antigonus (for instance) was called *Doson*, *the man that will give to-morrow*, and Ptolemy was styled *Lamyrus*, *the buffoon*. But appellations of this last sort were used with greater latitude among the Romans. One of the Metelli was distinguished by the name of *Diamondatus*, because he went a long time with a bandage, which covered an ulcer he had in his forehead: and another they called *Celer*, because with surprising celerity he entertained them with a funeral show of gladiators, a few days after his father's death. In our times, too, some of the Romans receive their names from the circumstances of their birth; as that of *Proculus*, if born when their fathers are in a distant country; and that of *Posthumus*, if born after their father's death: and when twins come into the world, and one of them dies at the birth, the survivor is called *Vopiscus*. Names are also appropriated on account of bodily imperfections; for amongst them we find not only *Sylla*, *the red*, and *Niger*, *the black*; but even *Cacus*, *the blind*, and *Claudius*, *the lame*; such persons by this custom being wisely taught, not to consider blindness or any other bodily misfortune as a reproach or disgrace, but to answer to appellations of that kind as their proper names. But this point might have been insisted upon with greater propriety in another place.

When the war was over, the demagogues stirred up another sedition. And as there was no new cause of disquiet or injury done the people, they made use of the mischiefs which were the necessary consequence of the former troubles and dissents, as a handle against the *patri-
cians*. For the greatest part of the ground being left uncultivated and unsown, and the war not permitting them to bring in bread-corn from other countries, there was an extreme scarcity in Rome*. The factious orators then seeing that corn was not brought to market, and that if the market could be supplied, the commonalty had but little money to buy with, slanderously asserted, that the rich had caused the famine out of a spirit of revenge.

At this juncture there arrived ambassadors from the people of Velitræ, who offered to surrender their city to the Romans, and desired to have a number of new inhabitants to replenish it; a pestilential distemper having committed such ravages there, that scarce the tenth part of the inhabitants remained. The sensible part of the Romans thought this pressing necessity of Velitræ a seasonable and advantageous thing for Rome, as it would lessen the scarcity of provisions. They hoped, moreover, that the sedition would subside, if the city were purged of the troublesome part of the people, who most readily took fire at the harangues of their orators, and who were as dangerous to the state as so many superfluous and morbid humours are to the body. Such as these, therefore, the consuls singled out for the colony, and pitched upon others, to serve in the war against the Velicians, contriving it so that employment abroad might still the intestine tumults, and believing, that when rich and poor, plebeians and patricians, came to bear arms together again, to be in the same camp, and to meet the same dangers, they would be disposed to treat each other with more gentleness and candour.

But the restless tribunes, Sicinius and Brutus, opposed both these designs, crying out, That the consuls disguised a most inhuman act under the plausible term of a colony; for inhuman it certainly was, to throw the poor citizens into a devouring gulf, by sending them to a place where

* The people withdrew to the sacred mount soon after the autumnal equinox, and the reconciliation with the patricians did not take place until the winter solstice, so that the seed time was lost. And the Roman factors, who were sent to buy corn in other countries, were very unsuccessful.

the air was infected, and where noisome carcasses lay above ground, where also they would be at the disposal of a strange and cruel deity. And as if it were not sufficient to destroy some by famine, and to expose others to the plague, they involved them also into a needless war, that no kind of calamity might be wanting to complete the ruin of the city, because it refused to continue in slavery to the rich.

The people, irritated by these speeches, neither obeyed the summons to be enrolled for the war, nor could be brought to approve the order to go and people Velitra. While the senate were in doubt what step they should take, Marcius, now not a little elated by the honours he had received, by the sense of his own great abilities, and by the deference that was paid him by the principal persons in the state, stood foremost in opposition to the tribunes. The colony, therefore, was sent out, heavy fines being set upon such as refused to go. But as they declared absolutely against serving in the war, Marcius mustered up his own clients, and as many volunteers as he could procure, and with these made an inroad into the territories of the *Antiates*. There he found plenty of corn, and a great number of cattle and slaves, no part of which he reserved to himself, but led his troops back to Rome, loaded with the rich booty. The rest of the citizens then repenting of their obstinacy, and envying those who had got such a quantity of provisions, looked upon Marcius with an evil eye, not being able to endure the increase of his power and honour, which they considered as rising on the ruins of the people.

Soon after*, Marcius stood for the consulship; on which occasion the commonalty began to relent, being sensible what a shame it would be to reject and affront a man of his family and virtue, and that too after he had done so many signal services to the public. It was the custom for those who were candidates for such an high office to solicit and care for the people in the *forum*, and, at those times, to be clad in a loose gown without the *tunic*; whether that humble dress was thought more suitable for suppliants, or whether it was for the convenience of showing their wounds, as so many tokens of valour. For it was not from any suspicion the citizens then had of bribery, that they required the

* It was the next year, being the third of the seventy-second Olympiad, four hundred and eighty-eight years before the Christian era.

candidates to appear before them ungirt and without any close garment, when they came to beg their votes; since it was much later than this, and indeed many ages after, that buying and selling stole in, and money came to be a means of gaining an election. Then, corruption reaching also the tribunals and the camps, arms were subdued by money, and the commonwealth was changed into a monarchy. It was a shrewd saying, whoever said it, “ That the man who first ruined the Roman people was he who first gave them treats and gratuities.” But this mischief crept secretly and gradually in, and did not shew its face in Rome for a considerable time. For we know not who it was that first bribed its citizens or its judges; but it is said, that in Athens, the first man who corrupted a tribunal, was Anytas, the son of Anthymion, when he was tried for treason in delivering up the fort of Pylos *, at the latter end of the Peloponnesian war; a time when the Golden Age reigned in the Roman courts in all its simplicity.

When, therefore, Marcius showed the wounds and scars he had received in the many glorious battles he had fought for seventeen years successively, the people were struck with reverence for his virtue, and agreed to choose him consul. But when the day of election came, and he was conducted with great pomp into the *Campus Martius* by the senate in a body, all the patricians acting with more zeal and vigour than ever had been known on the like occasion: the commons then altered their minds, and their kindness was turned into envy and indignation. The malignity of these passions was farther assisted by the fear they entertained, that if a man so strongly attached to the interests of the senate, and so much respected by the nobility, should attain the consulship, he might utterly deprive the people of their liberty. Influenced by these considerations, they rejected Marcius, and appointed others to that office. The senate took this extremely ill, considering it as an affront rather intended against them than against Marcius. As for Marcius, he resented that treatment highly, indulging his irascible passions upon a supposition, that they have something great and exalted in them; and wanting a due mixture of gravity and mildness, which are the chief political virtues, and the fruits of reason and education. He did not consider,

* The translation of 1758, has the name of the fort with a French termination, *Pyle*, which is a clear proof that the Greek was not consulted.

that the man who applies himself to public business, and undertakes to converse with men, should, above all things, avoid that *overbearing austerity*, which (as Plato says) is *always the companion of solitude*, and cultivate in his heart the patience which some people so much deride. Marcius, then, being plain and artless, but rigid and inflexible withal, was persuaded, that to vanquish opposition was the highest attainment of a gallant spirit. He never dreamt that such obstinacy is rather the effect of the weakness and effeminacy of a distempered mind, which breaks out in violent passions, like so many tumours; and therefore he went away in great disorder, and full of rancour against the people. Such of the young nobility as were most distinguished by the pride of birth and greatness of spirit, who had always been wonderfully taken with Marcius, and then unluckily happened to attend him, inflamed his resentment by expressing their own grief and indignation. For he was their leader in every expedition, and their instructor in the art of war: he it was who inspired them with a truly virtuous emulation, and taught them to rejoice in their own success, without envying the exploits of others.

In the mean time, a great quantity of bread-corn was brought to Rome, being partly bought up in Italy, and partly a present from Gelon, king of Syracuse. The aspect of affairs appeared now to be encouraging, and it was hoped, that the intestine broils would cease with the scarcity. The senate, therefore, being immediately assembled, the people stood in crowds without, waiting for the issue of their deliberations. They expected, that the market rates for the corn that was bought, would be moderate, and that a distribution of that which was a gift would be made *gratis*; for there were some who proposed, that the senate should dispose of it in that manner. But Marcius stood up, and severely censured those that spoke in favour of the commonalty, calling them Demagogues and Traitors to the nobility. He said, “They nourished to their own great “ prejudice the pernicious seeds of boldness and petulance, “ which had been sown among the populace, when they “ should rather have nipped them in the bud, and not have “ suffered the plebeians to strengthen themselves with the “ tribunitial power. That the people were now become “ formidable, gaining whatever point they pleased, and “ not doing any one thing against their inclination; so “ that living in a sort of anarchy, they would no longer

“ obey the consuls, nor acknowledge any superiors but
“ those whom they called their own magistrates. That the
“ senators who advised that distributions should be made
“ in the manner of the Greeks, whose government was
“ entirely democratical, were effecting the ruin of the
“ constitution, by encouraging the insolence of the rabble.
“ For that they would not suppose they received such fa-
“ vours for the campaign which they had refused to make,
“ or for the secessions by which they had deserted their
“ country, or for the calumnies which they had coun-
“ nanced against the senate: but,” continued he, “ they
“ will think that we yield to them through fear, and grant
“ them such indulgences by way of flattery; and as they
“ will expect to find us always so complaisant, there will
“ be no end to their disobedience, no period to their tur-
“ bulent and seditious practices. It would, therefore, be
“ perfect madness to take such a step. Nay, if we are
“ wise, we shall entirely abolish the tribune’s office *,
“ which has made cyphers of the consuls, and divided the
“ city in such a manner, that it is no longer one as for-
“ merly, but broken into two parts, which will never
“ knit again, or cease to vex and harass each other with
“ all the evils of discord †.”

Marcus, haranguing to this purpose, inspired the young senators and almost all the men of fortune with his own enthusiasm; and they cried out that he was the only man in Rome who had a spirit above the meanness of flattery and submission, yet some of the aged senators forefaw the consequence, and opposed his measures. In fact the issue was unfortunate. For the tribunes who were present, when they saw that Marcus would have a majority of voices, ran out to the people, loudly calling upon them to stand by their own magistrates and give their best assistance. An assembly then was held in a tumultuary manner, in which the speeches of Marcus were recited, and the plebeians in their fury had thoughts of breaking in upon the senate. The tribunes pointed their rage against Marcus in particular by impeaching him in form, and sent for him to make his defence. But as he spurned the messengers, they

* The tribunes had lately procured a law, which made it penal to interrupt them when they were speaking to the people.

† Plutarch has omitted the most aggravating passage in Coriolanus’s speech, wherein he proposed the holding up the price of bread-corn as high as ever, to keep the people in dependence and subjection.

went themselves, attended by the *aediles*, to bring him by force, and began to lay hands on him. Upon this the patricians stood up for him, drove off the tribunes, and beat the *aediles*; till night coming on broke off the quarrel. Early next morning the consuls observing that the people now extremely incensed flocked from all quarters into the *forum*; and dreading what might be the consequence to the city, hastily convened the senate, and moved, “ That “ they should consider how with kind words and favour- “ able resolutions they might bring the commons to tem- “ per; for that this was not a time to display their ambi- “ tion, nor would it be prudent to pursue disputes about “ the point of honour at a critical and dangerous juncture, “ which required the greatest moderation and delicacy of “ conduct. As the majority agreed to the motion, they went out to confer with the people, and used their best endeavours to pacify them, coolly refuting calumnies, and modestly, though not without some degree of sharpness, complaining of their behaviour. As to the price of bread-corn and other provisions, they declared, there should be no difference between them.

Great part of the people were moved with this application, and it clearly appeared by their candid attention, that they were ready to close with it. Then the tribunes stood up and said, “ That since the senate acted with such mode-“ ration, the people were not unwilling to make concessions “ in their turn; but they insisted that *Marcus* should come “ and answer to these articles,” *Whether he had not stirred up the senate to the confounding of all government, and to the destroying of the people's privileges? Whether he had not refused to obey their summons? Whether he had not beaten and otherwise maltreated the *aediles* in the *forum*; and by these means (so far as in him lay) levied war, and brought the citizens to sheath their swords in each other's bosom?* These things they said with a design, either to humble *Marcus* by making him submit to entreat the people's clemency, which was much against his haughty temper; or if he followed his native bent, to draw him to make the breach incurable. The latter they were in hopes of, and the rather because they knew the man well. He stood as if he would have made his defence, and the people waited in silence for what he had to say. But when, instead of the submissive language that was expected, he began with an aggravating boldness, and rather accused the commons, than defended himself;

when with the tone of his voice and the fierceness of his looks he expressed an intrepidity bordering upon insolence and contempt, they lost all patience; and Sicinius, the boldest of the tribunes, after a short consultation with his colleagues, pronounced openly, that the tribunes condemned Marcius to die. He then ordered the ædiles to take him immediately up to the top of the Tarpeian rock, and throw him down the precipice. However, when they came to lay hands on him, the action appeared horrible even to many of the plebeians. The patricians, shocked and astonished, ran with great outcries to his assistance, and got Marcius in the midst of them, some interposing to keep off the arrest, and others stretching out their hands in supplication to the multitude: but no regard was paid to words and entreaties amidst such disorder and confusion, until the friends and relations of the tribunes perceiving it would be impossible to carry off Marcius and punish him capitally, without first spilling much patrician blood, persuaded them to alter the cruel and unprecedented part of the sentence; not to use violence in the affair, or put him to death without form of trial, but to refer all to the people's determination in full assembly.

Sicinius, then a little mollified, asked the patricians, "What they meant by taking Marcius out of the hands of the people, who were resolved to punish him?" To which they replied by another question, "What do you mean by thus dragging one of the worthiest men in Rome, without trial, to a barbarous and illegal execution?" "If that be all," said Sicinius, "you shall no longer have a pretence for your quarrels and factious behaviour to the people: for they grant you what you desire; the man shall have his trial. And as for you, Marcius, we cite you to appear the third market-day, and satisfy the citizens of your innocence, if you can; for then by their suffrages your affair will be decided." The patricians were content with this compromise: and thinking themselves happy in carrying Marcius off, they retired.

Meanwhile, before the third market-day, which was a considerable space, for the Romans hold their markets every ninth day, and thence call them *Nundinae*, war broke out with the Antiates*, which, because it was like to be of some

* Advice was suddenly brought to Rome, that the people of An-

gium had seized and confiscated the ships belonging to Celer's am-

continuance, gave them hopes of evading the judgment, since there would be time for the people to become more tractable, to moderate their anger, or perhaps let it entirely evaporate in the busines of that expedition. But they soon made peace with the Antiates, and returned: whereupon, the fears of the senate were renewed, and they often met to consider how things might be so managed, that they should neither give up Marcius, nor leave room for the tribunes to throw the people into new disorders. On this occasion, Appius Claudio, who was the most violent adversary the commons had, declared, "That the senate would betray and ruin themselves, and absolutely destroy the constitution, if they should once suffer the plebeians to assume a power of suffrage against the patricians." But the oldest and most popular of the senators* were of opinion, "That the people, instead of behaving with more harshness and severity, would become mild and gentle, if that power were indulged them; since they did not despise the senate, but rather thought themselves despised by it; and the prerogative of judging would be such an honour to them, that they would be perfectly satisfied, and immediately lay aside all resentment."

Marcius, then seeing the senate perplexed between their regard for him and fear of the people, asked the tribunes, "What they accused him of, and upon what charge he was to be tried before the people?" Being told, "That he would be tried for treason against the commonwealth, in designing to set himself up as a tyrant †;" "Let me go then," said he, to the people, "and make my defence; I refuse no form of trial, nor any kind of punishment if I be found guilty. Only allege no other crime against me, and do not impose upon the senate." The tribunes agreed to these conditions, and promised that the cause should turn upon this one point.

bassadors in their return to Sicily, and had even imprisoned the ambassadors. Whereupon they took up arms to chaffise the Antiates, but they submitted and made satisfaction.

* Valerius was at the head of these. He insisted also at large on the horrible consequences of a civil war.

† It was never known that any person, who affected to set himself up tyrant, joined with the nobility against the people, but on the contrary conspired with the people against the nobility. "Per fides," said he, in his defence, "It was to save these citizens, that I have received the wounds you see: let the tribunes show, if they can, how such actions are consistent with the treacherous design they lay to my charge."

But the first thing they did, after the people were assembled, was to compel them to give their voices by tribes*, and not by centuries; thus contriving that the meanest and most seditious part of the populace, and those who had no regard to justice or honour, might outvote such as had borne arms, or were of some fortune and character. In the next place, they passed by the charge of his affecting the sovereignty, because they could not prove it, and, instead of it, repeated what Marcius some time before had said in the senate, against lowering the price of corn, and for abolishing the tribunitial power. And they added to the impeachment a new article, namely, his not bringing into the public treasury the spoils he had taken in the country of the Antiates, but dividing them among the soldiers. This last accusation is said to have discomposed Marcius more than all the rest; for it was what he did not expect, and he could not immediately think of an answer that would satisfy the commonalty; the praises he bestowed upon those who made that campaign with him, serving only to raise an outcry against him from the majority, who were not concerned in it. At last, when they came to vote, he was condemned by a majority of three tribes, and the penalty to be inflicted upon him was perpetual banishment.

After the sentence was pronounced the people were more elated, and went off in greater transports, than they ever did on account of a victory in the field; the senate on the other hand were in the greatest distress, and repented that they had not run the last risk, rather than suffer the people to possess themselves of so much power and use it in so insolent a manner. There was no need then to look upon

* From the reign of Servius Tullius the voices had been always gathered by centuries. The consuls were for keeping up the ancient custom, being well apprised, that they could save Coriolanus, if the voices were reckoned by centuries, of which the knights and the wealthiest of the citizen's made the majority, being pretty sure of ninety-eight out of a hundred and seventy-three. But the artful tribunes, alleging that, in an affair relating to the rights of the people, every citizen's vote ought to have its due weight, would not by any means consent to let the voices be collected otherwise than by tribes.

+ "This," said the tribune Decius, "is a plain proof of his evil designs: with the public money he secured to himself creatures and guards, and supporters of his intended usurpation. Let him make it appear that he had power to dispose of this booty without violating the laws. Let him answer directly to this one article, without dazzling us with the splendid show of his crowns and scars, or using any other arts to blind the assembly."

their drefs, or any other mark of distinction, to know which was a plebeian, and which a patrician; the man that exulted, was a plebeian: and the man that was dejected a patrician.

Marcius alone was unmoved and unhumbled. Still lofty in his port and firm in his countenance, he appeared not to be sorry for himself, and to be the only one of the nobility that was not. This air of fortitude was not, however, the effect of reason or moderation, but the man was buoyed up by anger and indignation. And this, though the vulgar know it not, has its rise from grief, which, when it catches flame, is turned to anger, and then bids adieu to all feeblenes and dejection. Hence, the angry man is courageous, just as he who has a fever is hot, the mind being upon the stretch and in a violent agitation. His subsequent behaviour soon showed that he was thus affected. For having returned to his own house, and embraced his mother and his wife, who lamented their fate with the weakness of women, he exhorted them to bear it with patience, and then hastened to one of the city-gates, being conducted by the patricians in a body. Thus he quitted Rome, without asking or receiving aught at any man's hand; and took with him only three or four clients. He spent a few days in a solitary manner at some of his farms near the city, agitated with a thousand different thoughts, such as his anger suggested; in which he did not propose any advantage to himself, but considered only how he might satisfy his revenge against the Romans. At last he determined to spirit up a cruel war against them from some neighbouring nation; and for this purpose to apply first to the Volscians, whom he knew to be yet strong both in men and money, and whom he supposed to be rather exasperated and provoked to farther conflicts, than absolutely subdued.

There was then a person at Antium, Tullus Aufidius by name *, highly distinguished among the Volscians, by his wealth, his valour, and noble birth. Marcius was very sensible, that of all the Romans, himself was the man whom Tullus most hated. For, excited by ambition and emulation, as young warriors usually are, they had in several

* In Bryan's text, it is Αυφίδιος. The Bodleian has it without the μ , Αφίδιος. But Livy and Dionyius of Halicarnassus call him Tullus Attius; and with them an anonymous MS. agrees. *Afidius*, however, which is very near the Bodleian reading, has a Latin sound, and probably was what Plutarch meant to write.

engagements, encountered each other with menaces, and bold defiance, and thus had added personal enmity to the hatred which reigned between the two nations. But notwithstanding all this, considering the great generosity of Tullus, and knowing that he was more desirous than any of the Volscians, of an opportunity to return upon the Romans part of the evils his country had suffered, he took a method which strongly confirms that saying of the poet :

Stern Wrath, how strong thy sway ! though life's the forfeit,
Thy purpose must be gain'd.

For, putting himself in such clothes and habiliments, as were most likely to prevent his being known, like Ulysses,

He stole into the hostile town.

It was evening when he entered, and though many people met him in the streets, not one of them knew him. He passed therefore on to the house of Tullus, where he got in undiscovered, and having directly made up to the fire-place*, he seated himself without saying a word, covering his face, and remaining in a composed posture. The people of the house were very much surprised ; yet they did not venture to disturb him, for there was something of dignity both in his person and his silence ; but they went and related the strange adventure to Tullus, who was then at supper. Tullus, upon this, rose from table, and coming to Coriolanus, asked him, *Who he was, and upon what business he was come ?* Coriolanus, uncovering his face, paused awhile, and then thus addressed him : “ If thou dost not “ yet know me, Tullus, but distrustest thy own eyes, I “ must of necessity be my own accuser. I am Caius Mar- “ cius, who have brought so many calamities upon the “ Volscians, and bear the additional name of Coriolanus, “ which will not suffer me to deny that imputation, were “ I disposed to it. For all the labours and dangers I have “ undergone, I have no other reward left, but that appella- “ tion which distinguishes my enmity to your nation, “ and which cannot indeed be taken from me. Of every “ thing else I am deprived by the envy and outrage of the “ people, on the one hand, and the cowardice and trea- “ chery of the magistrates and those of my own order, on

* The fire-place, having the domestic gods in it, was esteemed sacred ; and therefore all suppliants resorted to it, as to an asylum.

“ the other. Thus driven out an exile, I am come a sup-
“ pliant to thy household gods; not for shelter and pro-
“ tection, for why should I come hither, if I were afraid
“ of death? but for vengeance against those who have ex-
“ pelled me, which, methinks, I begin to take, by putting
“ myself into thy hands. If, therefore, thou art disposed
“ to attack the enemy, come on, brave Tullus, avail thy-
“ self of my misfortunes; let my personal distress be the
“ common happiness of the Volscians. You may be af-
“ fured, I shall fight much better for you than I have
“ fought against you, because they who know perfectly
“ the state of the enemy's affairs, are much more capable
“ of annoying them, than such as do not know them.
“ But if thou hast given up all thoughts of war, I neither
“ desire to live, nor is it fit for thee to preserve a person
“ who of old has been thine enemy, and now is not able
“ to do thee any sort of service.”

Tullus, delighted with this address, gave him his hand, and, “Rise,” said he, “Marcius, and take courage. The present you thus make of yourself is inestimable; and you may assure yourself that the Volscians will not be ungrateful.” Then he entertained him at his table with great kindness; and the next and the following days they consulted together about the war.

Rome was then in great confusion, by reason of the animosity of the nobility against the commons, which was considerably heightened by the late condemnation of Marcius. Many prodigies were also announced by private persons, as well as by the priests and diviners. One of which was as follows: Titus Latinus*, a man of no high rank, but of great modesty and candour, not addicted to superstition, much less to vain pretences to what is extraordinary, had this dream. Jupiter, he thought, appeared to him, and ordered him to tell the senate, *That they had provided him a very bad and ill-favoured leader of the dance in the sacred procession.* When he had seen this vision, he said, he paid but little regard to it at first. It was presented a second and a third time, and he neglected it: whereupon he had the unhappiness to see his son sicken and die, and he himself was suddenly struck in such a manner, as to lose the use of his limbs. These particulars he related in the senate-house, being carried on his couch for

* Livy calls him Titus Atinius.

that purpose. And he had no sooner made an end, than he perceived, as they tell us, his strength return, and rose up, and walked home without help.

The senate were much surprised, and made a strict inquiry into the affair; the result of which was, that a certain householder had delivered up one of his slaves, who had been guilty of some offence, to his other servants, with an order to whip him through the market-place, and then put him to death. While they were executing this order, and scourging the wretch, who writhed himself, through the violence of pain, into various postures*, the procession happened to come up. Many of the people that composed it, were fired with indignation, for the sight was excessively disagreeable, and shocking to humanity; yet nobody gave him the least assistance; only curses and execrations were vented against the man who punished with so much cruelty. For in those times they treated their slaves with great moderation, and this was natural, because they worked and even eat with them. It was deemed a great punishment for a slave who had committed a fault to take up that piece of wood with which they supported the thill of a waggon, and carry it round the neighbourhood. For he that was thus exposed to the derision of the family and other inhabitants of the place, entirely lost his credit, and was styled *Farcifer*; the Romans calling that piece of timber *furca*, which the Greeks call *hypoplates*, that is, a *supporter*.

When Latinus had given the senate an account of his dream, and they doubted *who this ill-favoured and bad leader of the dance* might be, the excessive severity of the punishment put some of them in mind of the slave, who was whipped through the market-place, and afterwards put to death. All the priests agreeing that he must be the person meant, his master had a heavy fine laid upon him, and the procession and games were exhibited anew, in honour of Jupiter. Hence it appears, that Numa's religious institutions in general are very wise, and that this in particular is highly conducive to the purposes of piety, namely, that when the magistrates or priests are employed in any sacred ceremony, a herald goes before, and proclaims aloud, *Hoc* i. e. *be attentive to this*; hereby commanding every

* According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the master had given orders that the slave should be punished at the head of the procession, to make the ignominy the more notorious; which was a still greater affront to the deity, in whose honour the procession was set up.

body to regard the solemn acts of religion, and not to suffer any business or avocation to intervene and disturb them; as well knowing, that men's attention, especially in what concerns the worship of the gods, is seldom fixed, but by a sort of violence and constraint.

But it is not only in so important a case, that the Romans begin anew their sacrifices, their processions and games: They do it for very small matters. If one of the horses that draw the chariots called *Tenix*, in which are placed the images of the gods, happened to stumble, or if the charioteer took the reins in his left hand, the whole procession was to be repeated. And in later ages they have set about one sacrifice thirty several times, on account of some defect or inauspicious appearance in it. Such reverence have the Romans paid to the Supreme Being.

Meantime Marcius and Tullus held secret conferences with the principal Volscians, in which they exhorted them to begin the war, while Rome was torn in pieces with factious disputes; but a sense of honour restrained some of them from breaking the truce which was concluded for two years. The Romans, however, furnished them with a pretence for it, having, through some suspicion or false suggestion, caused proclamation to be made at one of the public shows or games, that all the Volscians should quit the town before sun-set. Some say, it was a stratagem contrived by Marcius, who suborned a person to go to the consuls, and accuse the Volscians of a design to attack the Romans during the games, and to set fire to the city. This proclamation exasperated the whole Volscian nation against the Romans; and Tullus greatly aggravating the affront*, at last persuaded them to send to Rome, to demand that the lands and cities which had been taken from them in the war, should be restored. The senate having heard what the ambassadors had to say, answered with indignation: "That the Volscians might be the first to take up arms, but the Romans would be the last to lay them down." Hereupon Tullus summoned a general assembly of his countrymen, whom he advised to send for Marcius, and, forgetting all past injuries, to

* "We alone," said he, "of all the different nations now in Rome, are not thought worthy to see the games. We alone, like the profanest wretches and outlaws, are driven from a public festival. Go, and tell in all your cities and villages the distinguishing mark the Romans have put upon us."

rest satisfied, that the service he would do them, now their ally, would greatly exceed all the damage they had received from him, while their enemy.

Marcius accordingly was called in, and made an oration to the people; who found that he knew how to speak as well as fight, and that he excelled in capacity as well as courage, and therefore they joined him in commission with Tullus. As he was afraid that the Volscians would spend much time in preparations, and so lose a favourable opportunity for action, he left it to the magistrates and other principal persons in Antium to provide troops and whatever else was necessary, while he, without making any set levies, took a number of volunteers, and with them overran the Roman territories before any body in Rome could expect it. There he made so much booty, that the Volscians found it difficult to carry it off, and consume it in the camp. But the great quantity of provisions he collected, and the damage he did the enemy by committing such spoil, was the least part of the service in this expedition. The great point he had in view in the whole matter, was to increase the people's suspicions of the nobility. For while he ravaged the whole country, he was very attentive to spare the lands of the patricians, and to see that nothing should be carried off from them. Hence, the ill opinion the two parties had of each other; and consequently the troubles grew greater than ever; the patricians accusing the plebeians of unjustly driving out one of the bravest men in Rome, and the plebeians reproaching *them* with bringing Marcius upon them, to indulge their revenge, and with fitting secure spectators of what others suffered by the war, while the war itself was a guard to their lands and subsistence. Marcius having thus effected his purpose, and inspired the Volscians with courage, not only to meet, but even to despise the enemy, drew off his party without being molested.

The Volscian forces assembled with great expedition and alacrity: and they appeared so considerable, that it was thought proper to leave part to garrison their towns, while the rest marched against the Romans. Coriolanus leaving it in the option of Tullus, which corps he would command, Tullus observed, that as his colleague was not at all inferior to himself in valour, and had hitherto fought with better success, he thought it most advisable for *him* to lead the army into the field, while himself stayed behind to provide

for the defence of the towns and to supply the troops that made the campaign with every thing necessary *.

Marcius, strengthened still more by this division of the command, marched first against Circeii †, a Roman colony; and as it surrendered without resistance, he would not suffer it to be plundered. After this, he laid waste the territories of the Latins, expecting that the Romans would hazard a battle, for the Latins who were their allies, and by frequent messengers called upon them for assistance. But the commons of Rome showed no alacrity in the affair, and the consuls, whose office was almost expired, were not willing to run such a risk, and therefore rejected the request of the Latins. Marcius then turned his arms against Tolerium, Labici, Pedum, and Bola, cities of Latium; which he took by assault, and because they made resistance, sold the inhabitants as slaves, and plundered their houses. At the same time he took particular care of such as voluntarily came over to him; and that they might not sustain any damage against his will, he always encamped at the greatest distance he could, and would not even touch upon their lands, if he could avoid it.

Afterwards he took Bollæ, which is little more than twelve miles from Rome, where he put to the sword almost all that were of age to bear arms, and got much plunder. The rest of the Volscians, who were left as a safeguard to the towns, had not patience to remain at home any longer, but ran with their weapons in their hands to Marcius, declaring that they knew no other leader or general but him. His name and his valour were renowned through Italy. All were astonished that one man's changing sides could make so prodigious an alteration in affairs.

Nevertheless, there was nothing but disorder at Rome. The Romans refused to fight, and passed their time in cabals, seditious speeches, and mutual complaints; until news was brought that Coriolanus had laid siege to Lavinium, where

* It would have been very imprudent in Tullus to have left Coriolanus, who had been an enemy, and now might possibly be only a pretended friend, at the head of an army in the bowels of his country, while he was marching at the head of another against Rome.

† For the right terminations of this, and other towns soon after mentioned, see Livy, book ii. c. 39. Plutarch calls the town *Circium*. His error is much greater, when a little below he writes *Clælia* instead of *Clælia*. Sometimes, too, the former translator makes a mistake, where Plutarch had made none.

the holy symbols of the gods of their fathers were placed, and from whence they derived their original, that being the first city which *Æneas* built. A wonderful and universal change of opinion then appeared among the people, and a very strange and absurd one among the patricians. The people were desirous to annul the sentence against *Marcius*, and to recal him to Rome, but the senate being assembled to deliberate on that point, finally rejected the proposition; either out of a perverse humour of opposing whatever measure the people espoused, or perhaps unwilling that *Coriolanus* should owe his return to the favour of the people; or else having conceived some resentment against him for harassing and distressing all the Romans, when he had been injured only by a part, and for showing himself an enemy to his country, in which he knew the most respectable body had both sympathised with him, and shared in his ill treatment; this resolution being announced to the commons *, it was not in their power to proceed to vote or to pass a bill; for a previous decree of the senate was necessary.

At this news *Coriolanus* was still more exasperated, so that quitting the siege of *Lavinium* †, he marched in great fury towards Rome, and encamped only five miles from it, at the *Fosse Cluilie*. The sight of him caused great terror and confusion, but for the present it appeased the sedition: for neither magistrate nor senator durst any longer oppose the people's desire to recal him. When they saw the women running up and down the streets, and the supplications and tears of the aged men at the altars of the gods, when all courage and spirit were gone, and salutary councils were no more; then they acknowledged that the people were right in endeavouring to be reconciled to *Coriolanus*, and that the senate were under a great mistake, in beginning to indulge the passions of anger and revenge, at a time when they should have renounced them. All, therefore, agreed to send ambassadors to *Coriolanus* to offer him liberty to return, and to entreat him to put an end to the war. Those that went on the part of the senate, being all either relations

* Perhaps the senate now refused to comply with the demands of the people, either to clear themselves from the suspicion of maintaining a correspondence with *Coriolanus*, or possibly out of that magnanimity which made the Romans averse to peace, when they were attended with bad success in war.

† He left a body of troops to continue the blockade.

or friends of Coriolanus, expected at the first interview much kindness from a man who was thus connected with them. But it happened quite otherwise; for being conducted through the Volscian ranks, they found him seated in council, with a number of great officers, and with an infufferable appearance of pomp and severity. He bade them then declare their busines, which they did in a very modest and humble manner, as became the state of their affairs.

When they had made an end of speaking, he answered them with much bitterness and high resentment of the injuries done him; and, as general of the Volscians, he insisted “ That the Romans should restore all the cities and “ lands which they had taken in the former wars; and “ that they should grant by decree the freedom of the city “ to the Volscians, as they had done to the Latins: for “ that no lasting peace could be made between the two “ nations, but upon these just and equal conditions.”— He gave them thirty days to consider of them; and having dismissed the ambassadors, he immediately retired from the Roman territories.

Several among the Volscians, who for a long time had envied his reputation, and been uneasy at the interest he had with the people, availed themselves of this circumstance to calumniate and reproach him. Tullus himself was of the number. Not that he had received any particular injury from Coriolanus; but he was led away by a passion too natural to man. It gave him pain to find his own glory obscured, and himself entirely neglected by the Volscians, who looked upon Coriolanus as their supreme head, and thought that others might well be satisfied with that portion of power and authority which he thought proper to allow them. Hence, secret hints were first given, and in their private cabals, his enemies expressed their dissatisfaction, giving the name of treason to his retreat. For though he had not betrayed their cities or armies, yet they said he had traiterously given up time, by which these and all other things are both won and lost. He had allowed them a respite of no less than thirty days *, knowing their affairs

* So Dacier paraphrases & μεζονες, οδιν ιδιαντος χρονω λαρκανη μετασηλας and his paraphrase seems nearest the sound of the Greek. But the text is manifestly corrupted, and it is not easy to restore the true reading. Perhaps the Latin translation, as published by Bryan, has the sense intended by Plutarch. It is to this effect, when

to be so embarrassed, that they wanted such a space to re-establish them.

Coriolanus, however, did not spend those thirty days idly. He harassed the enemy's allies*, laid waste their lands, and took seven great and populous cities in that interval. The Romans did not venture to send them any succours. They were as spiritless, and as little disposed to the war, as if their bodies had been relaxed and benumbed with the palsy.

When the term was expired, and Coriolanus returned with all his forces, they sent a second embassy, “To entreat him to lay aside his resentment, to draw off the Volscians from their territories, and then to proceed as should seem most conducive to the advantage of both nations. For that the Romans would not give up any thing through fear; but if he thought it reasonable that the Volscians should be indulged in some particular points, they would be duly considered if they laid down their arms.” Coriolanus replied, “That as general of the Volscians, he would give them no answer; but as one who was yet a citizen of Rome, he would advise and exhort them to entertain humble thoughts, and to come within three days with a ratification of the just conditions he had proposed. At the same time he assured them, that if their resolutions should be of a different nature, it would not be safe for them to come any more into his camp with empty words.”

The senate having heard the report of the ambassadors, considered the commonwealth as ready to sink in the waves of a dreadful tempest, and therefore cast the last, the *sacred anchor*, as it is called. They ordered all the priests of the gods, the ministers and guardians of the mysteries, and all that, by the ancient usage of their country, practised divination by the flight of birds, to go to Coriolanus, in their robes, with the ensigns which they bear in the duties of their office, and exert their utmost endeavours to persuade him to desist from the war, and then to treat with his countrymen of articles of peace for the Volscians. When they came, he did indeed vouchsafe to admit them into the camp, but greater changes, than were necessary in this case, might happen in a less space of time. But to justify that translation, the Greek should run as follows: *οὐα μητρας οὐ θαττεν χρων ιδματος (sicilicet πολεμος) ουπεινον μητασολας.*

By this he prevented the allies of the Romans from afflicting them, and guarded against the charge of treachery, which some of the Volscians were ready to bring against him.

showed them no other favour, nor gave them a milder answer than the others had received; "He bade them," in short, "either accept the former proposals, or prepare for war."

When the priests returned, the Romans resolved to keep close within the city and to defend the walls; intending only to repulse the enemy, should he attack them, and placing their chief hopes on the accidents of time and fortune: for they knew of no resource within themselves: the city was full of trouble and confusion, terror and unhappy presages. At last something happened similar to what is often mentioned by Homer, but which men, in general, are little inclined to believe. For when on occasion of any great and uncommon event, he says,

Pallas inspir'd that counsel;

And again,

But some immortal power who rules the mind,
Chang'd their resolves;

And elsewhere,

The thought spontaneous rising,
Or by some god inspir'd—

They despise the poet, as if, for the sake of absurd nations and incredible fables, he endeavoured to take away our liberty of will. A thing which Homer never dreamed of: for whatever happens in the ordinary course of things, and is the effect of reason and consideration, he often ascribes to our own powers; as,

— My own great mind
I then consulted;

And in another place,

Achilles heard with grief; and various thoughts
Perplex'd his mighty mind;

Once more,

— But she in vain
Tempted Bellerephon. The noble youth
With Wisdom's shield was arm'd.

And in extraordinary and wonderful actions, which require some supernatural impulse and enthusiastic movement, he never introduces the Deity as depriving man of freedom of will, but as moving the will. He does not represent the heavenly power as producing the resolution, but ideas

which lead to the resolution. The act, therefore, is by no means involuntary, since occasion only is given to free operations, and confidence and good hope are superadded. For either the Supreme Being must be excluded from all causality and influence upon our actions, or it must be confessed that this is the only way in which he afflicts men and co-operates with them; since it is not to be supposed that he fashions our corporeal organs, or directs the motions of our hands and feet to the purposes he delights, but that by certain motives and ideas which he suggests, he either excites the active powers of the will, or else restrains them*.

The Roman women were then dispersed in the several temples, but the greatest part and the most illustrious of the matrons made their supplications at the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Among the last was Valeria, the sister of the great Publicola, a person who had done the Romans the most considerable services both in peace and war. Publicola died some time before, as we have related in his life; but Valeria still lived in the greatest esteem; for her life did honour to her high birth. This woman discerning, by some divine impulse, what would be the best expedient, rose and called upon the other matrons to attend her to the house of Volumnia†, the mother of Coriolanus. When she entered, and found her sitting with her daughter-in-law, and with the children of Coriolanus on her lap, she approached her with her female companions, and spoke to this effect: “ We address ourselves to you, Volumnia and “ Vergilia, as women to women, without any decree of “ the Senate or order of the consuls. But our god, we “ believe, lending a merciful ear to our prayers, put it in “ our minds to apply to you, and to entreat you to do a “ thing that will not only be salutary to us and the other “ citizens, but more glorious for you, if you hearken to “ us, than the reducing their fathers and husbands from “ mortal enmity to peace and friendship, was to the daugh- “ ters of the Sabines. Come then, go along with us to “ Coriolanus; join your instances to ours; and give a true “ and honourable testimony to your country, that though “ she has received the greatest injuries from him, yet she

* Plutarch represents the divine assistance as a *moral influence*, prevailing (if it does prevail) by rational motives. And the best Christian divines describe it in the same manner.

† Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy call his mother Veturia, and his wife Volumnia.

“ has neither done nor resolved upon any thing against
“ you in her anger, but restores you safe into his hands,
“ though perhaps she may not obtain any better terms to
“ herself on that account.”

When Valeria had thus spoken, the rest of the women joined her request. Volumnia gave them this answer :
“ Beside the share which we have in the general calamity,
“ we are, my friends, in particular very unhappy ; since
“ Marcius is lost to us, his glory obscured, and his virtue
“ gone ; since we behold him surrounded by the arms of
“ the enemies of his country, not as their prisoner, but
“ their commander. But it is still a greater misfortune
“ to us, if our country is become so weak, as to have
“ need to repose her hopes upon us. For I know not
“ whether he will have any regard for us, since he has had
“ none for his country, which he used to prefer to his
“ mother, to his wife and children. Take us, however,
“ and make what use of us you please. Lead us to him.
“ If we can do nothing else, we can expire at his feet in
“ supplicating for Rome.”

She then took the children and Vergilia with her*, and went with the other matrons to the Volscian camp. The sight of them produced, even in the enemy, compassion and a reverential silence. Coriolanus, who then happened to be seated upon the tribunal with his principal officers, seeing the women approach, was greatly agitated and surprised. Nevertheless, he endeavoured to retain his wonted sternness and inexorable temper, though he perceived that his wife was at the head of them. But unable to resist the emotions of affection, he could not suffer them to address him as he sat. He descended from the tribunal, and ran to meet them. First he embraced his mother for a considerable time, and afterwards his wife and children, neither restraining from tears nor any other instance of natural tenderness.

When he had sufficiently indulged his passion, and perceived that his mother wanted to speak, he called the Volscian counsellors to him, and Volumnia expressed her-

* Valeria first gave advice of this design to the consuls, who proposed it in the senate, where, after long debates, it was approved of by the fathers. Then Valeria, and the most illustrious of the Roman matrons, in chariots which the consuls had ordered to be got ready for them, took their way to the enemy's camp.

self to this purpose: " You see, my son, by our attire and
" miserable looks, and therefore I may spare myself the
" trouble of declaring, to what condition your banishment
" has reduced us. Think with yourself whether we are
" not the most unhappy of women, when fortune has
" changed the spectacle that should have been the most
" pleasing in the world, into the most dreadful; when
" Volumnia beholds her son, and Vergilia her husband,
" encamped in a hostile manner before the walls of his
" native city. And what to others is the greatest consola-
" tion under misfortune and adversity, I mean prayer to
" the gods, to us is rendered impracticable; for we cannot
" at the same time beg victory for our country and your
" preservation, but what our worst enemies would imprecate
" on us as a curse, must of necessity be interwoven with our
" prayers. Your wife and children must either see their
" country perish, or you. As to my own part, I will not
" live to see this war decided by fortune. If I cannot per-
" suade you to prefer friendship and union to enmity and
" its ruinous consequences, and so to become a benefactor
" to both sides, rather than the destruction of one, you
" must take this along with you, and prepare to expect it,
" that you shall not advance against your country, without
" trampling upon the dead body of her that bore you. For
" it does not become me to wait for that day, when my son
" shall be either led captive by his fellow citizens, or
" triumph over Rome. If, indeed, I desired you to save
" your country by ruining the Volscians, I confess the case
" would be hard, and the choice difficult: for it would
" neither be honourable to destroy your countrymen, nor
" just to betray those who have placed their confidence in
" you. But what do we desire of you, more than deliver-
" ance from our own calamities? A deliverance which will
" be equally salutary to both parties*, but most to the
" honour of the Volscians, since it will appear that their
" superiority empowered them to grant us the greatest of
" blessings, peace and friendship, while they themselves
" receive the fame. If these take place, you will be ac-
" knowledged to be the principal cause of them; if they do
" not, you alone must expect to bear the blame from both
" nations. And though the chance of war is uncertain,
" yet it will be the certain event of this, that if you con-

* She begged a truce for a year, that in that time measures might be taken for settling a solid and lasting peace.

“ quer, you will be a destroying demon to your country.
“ if you are beaten, it will be clear that by indulging your
“ resentment, you have plunged your friends and bene-
“ factors in the greatest of misfortunes.”

Coriolanus listened to his mother while she went on with her speech, without saying the least word to her; and Volumnia seeing him stand a long time mute after she had left speaking, proceeded again in this manner: “ Why are you silent, my son? Is it an honour to yield every thing to anger and resentment, and would it be a disgrace to yield to your mother in so important a petition? Or does it become a great man to remember the injuries done him, and would it not equally become a great and good man with the highest regard and reverence to keep in mind the benefits he has received from his parents? Surely you, of all men, should take care to be grateful, who have suffered so extremely by ingratitude. And yet, though you have already severely punished your country, you have not made your mother the least return for her kindness. The most sacred ties both of nature and religion without any other constraint require that you should indulge me in this just and reasonable request; but if words cannot prevail, this only resource is left.” When she had said this, she threw herself at his feet, together with his wife and children; upon which Coriolanus crying out, “ O mother! what is it you have done? ” raised her from the ground, and tenderly pressing her hand, continued, “ You have gained a victory fortunate for your country, but ruinous to me*. I go, vanquished by you alone.” Then, after a short conference with his mother and wife in private, he sent them back to Rome, agreeably to their desire. Next morning he drew off the Volscians, who had not all the same sentiments of what had passed. Some blamed him; others, whose inclination were for peace, found no fault: others again, though they disliked what was done, did not look upon Coriolanus as a bad man, but thought he was excusable in yielding to such powerful solicitations. However, none presumed to contradict his orders, though they followed him rather out of veneration for his virtue, than regard to his authority.

The sense of the dreadful and dangerous circumstances which the Roman people had been in by reason of the war,

* He well foresaw that the Volscians would never forgive him the favour he did their enemies.

never appeared so strong as when they were delivered from it. For no sooner did they perceive from the walls, that the Volscians were drawing off, than all the temples were opened and filled with persons crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice, as for some great victory. But in nothing was the public joy more evident, than in the affectionate regard and honour which both the senate and people paid the women, whom they both considered and declared the means of their preservation. Nevertheless, when the senate decreed *, that whatever they thought would contribute most to their glory and satisfaction, the consuls should take care to see it done, they only desired that a temple might be built to the FORTUNE OF WOMEN, the expence of which they offered to defray themselves, requiring the commonwealth to be at no other charge than that of sacrifices, and such a solemn service as was suitable to the majesty of the gods. The senate, though they commended their generosity, ordered the temple and shrine to be erected at the public charge †; but the women contributed their money notwithstanding, and with it provided another image of the goddess, which the Romans report, when it was set up in the temple, to have uttered these words: O WOMEN! MOST ACCEPTABLE TO THE GODS IS THIS YOUR PIOUS GIFT.

They fabulously report that this voice was repeated twice, thus offering to our faith things that appear impossible. Indeed, we will not deny that images may have sweated, may have been covered with tears, and emitted drops like blood. For wood and stone often contract a scurf and mouldiness, that produces moisture; and they not only exhibit many different colours themselves, but receive variety of tinctures from the ambient air: at the same time there is no reason why the Deity may not make use of these signs to announce things to come. It is also very possible that a sound like that of a sigh or a groan may proceed from a statue, by the rupture or violent separation of some of the interior parts: but that an articulate voice and expression so

* It was decreed that an encomium of those matrons should be engraven on a public monument.

† It was erected in the Latin way, about four miles from Rome, on the place where Veturia had overcome the obstinacy of her son, Valeria, who had proposed so successful a deputation, was the first priestess of this temple, which was much frequented by the Roman women. *Dion. Halicar.* p. 479, 480. *Liv.* lib. ii. c. 40.

cle r, so full and perfect, should fall from a thing inanimate, is out of all the bounds of possibility. For neither the soul of man, nor even God himself, can utter vocal sounds, and pronounce words, without an organized body and parts fitted for utterance. Wherever, then, history asserts such things, and bears us down with the testimony of many credible witnesses, we must conclude, that some impression, not unlike that of sense, influenced the imagination, and produced the belief of a real sensation; as in sleep we seem to hear what we hear not, and to see what we do not see. As for those persons, who are possessed with such a strong sense of religion, that they cannot reject any thing of this kind, they found their faith on the wonderful and incomprehensible power of God. For there is no manner of resemblance between him and a human being, either in his nature, his wisdom, his power, or his operations. If, therefore, he performs something which we cannot effect, and executes what with us is impossible, there is nothing in this contradictory to reason; since, though he far excels us in every thing, yet the dissimilitude and distance between him and us, appears most of all in the works which he hath wrought. But *much knowledge of things divine, as Heraclitus affirms, escapes us through want of faith.*

When Coriolanus returned, after this expedition, to Antium, Tullus who both hated and feared him, resolved to assassinate him immediately; being persuaded, that if he missed this, he should not have such another opportunity. First, therefore, he collected and prepared a number of accomplices, and then called upon Coriolanus to divest himself of his authority, and give an account of his conduct to the Volscians. Dreading the consequence of being reduced to a private station, while Tullus, who had so great an interest with his countrymen, was in power, he made answer, that if the Volscians required it, he would give up his commission, and not otherwise, since he had taken it at their common request; but that he was ready to give an account of his behaviour even then, if the citizens of Antium would have it so. Hereupon, they met in full assembly, and some of the orators that were prepared for it, endeavoured to exasperate the populace against him. But when Coriolanus stood up, the violence of the tumult abated, and he had liberty to speak; the best part of the people of Antium, and those that were most inclined to peace, appearing ready to hear him with candour, and to pass sentence

with equity. Tullus was then afraid that he would make but too good a defence: for he was an eloquent man, and the former advantages which he had procured the nation, outweighed his present offence. Nay, the very impeachment was a clear proof of the greatness of the benefits he had conferred upon them. For they would never have thought themselves injured, in not conquering Rome, if they had not been near taking it through his means. The conspirators, therefore, judged it prudent not to wait any longer, or to try the multitude: and the boldest of their faction, crying out that a traitor ought not to be heard, or suffered by the Volscians to act the tyrant, and refuse to lay down his authority, rushed upon him in a body, and* killed him on the spot; not one that was present lifting a hand to defend him. It was soon evident that this was not done with the general approbation: for they assembled from several cities to give his body an honourable burial†, and adorned his monument with arms and spoils, as became a distinguished warrior and general.

When the Romans were informed of his death, they showed no sign either of favour or resentment. Only they permitted the women, at their request, to go into mourning for ten months, as they used to do for a father, a son, or a brother; this being the longest term for mourning allowed by Numa Pompilius, as we have mentioned in his life.

* Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, they stoned him to death.

† They dressed him in his general's robes, and laid his corpse on a magnificent bier, which was carried by such young officers as were most distinguished for their martial exploits. Before him were borne the spoils he had taken from the enemy, the crowns he had gained, and plans of the cities he had taken. In this order his body was laid on the pile, while several victims were slain in honour to his memory. When the pile was consumed, they gathered up his ashes, which they interred on the spot, and erected a magnificent monument there. Coriolanus was slain in the second year of the seventy-third Olympiad, in the two hundred and sixtieth year of Rome, and eight years after his first campaign. According to this account he died in the flower of his age; but Livy informs us from Fabius, a very ancient author, that he lived till he was very old: and that in the decline of life he was wont to say, that "A state of exile was always uncomfortable, but more so to an old man than to another." We cannot, however, think that Coriolanus grew old among the Volscians. Had he done so, his counsels would have preserved them from ruin; and, after Tullus was slain, he would have restored their affairs, and have got them admitted to the rights and privileges of Roman citizens, in the same manner as the Latins.

The Volscian affairs soon wanted the abilities of Marius. For, first of all, in a dispute which they had with the *Æqui*, their friends and allies, which of the two nations shou'd give a general to their armies, they proceeded to blows, and a number were killed and wounded; and afterwards coming to a battle with the Roraans, in which they were defeated, and Tullus, together with the flower of their army slain, they were forced to accept of very disgraceful conditions of peace, by which they were reduced to the obedience of Rome, and obliged to accept of such terms as the conquerors would allow them.

ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS

COMPARED.

HAVING now given a detail of all the actions of these two great men, that we thought worthy to be known and remembered, we may perceive at one glance that as to their military exploits the balance is nearly even. For both gave extraordinary proofs of courage as soldiers, and of prudence and capacity as commanders in chief; though perhaps some may think Alcibiades the more complete general, on account of his many successful expeditions at sea as well as land. But this is common to both, that when they had the command, and fought in person, the affairs of their country infallibly prospered, and as infallibly declined when they went over to the enemy.

As to their behaviour in point of government, if the licentiousness of Alcibiades, and his compliances with the humour of the populace, were abhorred by the wise and sober part of the Athenians; the proud and forbidding manner of Coriolanus, and his excessive attachment to the patricians, were equally detested by the Roman people. In this respect, therefore, neither of them is to be commended; though he that avails himself of popular arts, and shows too much indulgence, is less blameable than he, who, to avoid the imputation of obsequiousness, treats the people with severity. It is, indeed, a disgrace to attain to power by flattering them: but, on the other hand, to pursue it by acts of insolence and oppression, is not only shameful but unjust.

That Coriolanus had an openness and simplicity of manners, is a point beyond dispute, whilst Alcibiades was crafty and dark in the proceedings of his administration. The latter has been most blamed for the trick which he put upon the Lacedemonian ambassadors, as Thucydides tells us, and by which he renewed the war. Yet this stroke of policy, though it plunged Athens again in war, rendered the alliance with the Mantineans and Argives, which was brought about by Alcibiades, much stronger and more respectable. But was not Coriolanus chargeable with a falsity too, when, as Dionysius informs us, he stirred up the Romans against the Volscians, by loading the latter with an infamous calumny, when they went to see the public games? The cause, too, makes this action the more criminal: for it was not by ambition or a rival spirit in politics that he was influenced, as Alcibiades was; but he did it to gratify his anger, *a passion which, as Dion says, is ever ungrateful to its votaries.* By this means they disturbed all Italy, and in his quarrel with his country destroyed many cities which had never done him any injury. Alcibiades, indeed, was the author of many evils to the Athenians, but was easily reconciled to them when he found that they repented. Nay, when he was driven a second time into exile, he could not bear with patience the blunders committed by the new generals, nor see with indifference the dangers to which they were exposed; but observed the same conduct which Aristides is so highly extolled for with respect to Themistocles. He went in person to those generals, who, he knew, were not his friends, and showed them what steps it was proper for them to take. Whereas Coriolanus directed his revenge against the whole commonwealth, though he had not been injured by the whole, but the best and most respectable part both suffered and sympathised with him. And afterwards, when the Romans endeavoured to make satisfaction for that single grievance by many embassies and much submission, he was not in the least pacified or won; but showed himself determined to prosecute a cruel war, not in order to procure his return to his native country, but to conquer and to ruin it. It may, indeed, be granted, that there was this difference in the case; Alcibiades returned to the Athenians, when the Spartans, who both feared and hated him, intended to dispatch him privately. But it was not so honourable in Coriolanus to desert the Volscians, who had treated him

with the utmost kindness, appointed him general with full authority, and reposed in him the highest confidence: very different in this respect from Alcibiades, who was abused, to their own purposes, rather than employed and trusted by the Lacedæmonians; and, who, after having been tossed about in their city and their camp, was at last obliged to put himself in the hands of Tissaphernes. But, perhaps, he made his court to the Persian*, in order to prevent the utter ruin of his country, to which he was desirous to return.

History informs us, that Alcibiades often took bribes, which he lavished again with equal discredit upon his vicious pleasures; while Coriolanus refused to receive even what the generals he served under would have given him with honour. Hence the behaviour of the latter was the more detested by the people in the disputes about debts; since it was not with a view to advantage, but out of contempt and by way of insult, as they thought, that he bore so hard upon them.

Antipater, in one of his epistles, where he speaks of the death of Aristotle the philosopher, tells us, “ That great man, besides his other extraordinary talents, had the art of insinuating himself into the affections of those he conversed with.” For want of this talent, the great actions and virtues of Coriolanus were odious even to those who received the benefit of them, and who, notwithstanding, could not endure *that austerity which*, as Plato says, *is the companion of solitude*. But as Alcibiades, on the other hand, knew how to treat those, with whom he conversed, with an engaging civility, it is no wonder if the glory of his exploits flourished in the favour and honourable regard of mankind, since his very faults had sometimes their grace and elegance. Hence it was, that though his conduct was often very prejudicial to Athens, yet he was frequently appointed commander in chief; while Coriolanus, after many great achievements, with the best pretensions, sued for the consulship, and lost it. The former deserved to be hated by his countrymen, and was not; the latter was not beloved, though at the same time he was admired.

* For he prevented Tissaphernes from afflicting the Spartans with all his forces. Thus he served the Athenians and the Persians at the same time. For it was undoubtedly the interest of the Persians to preserve the two leading powers of Greece in a condition to annoy each other, and, in the mean time, to reap the advantage themselves.

We should, moreover, consider, that Coriolanus performed no considerable services, while he commanded the armies of his country, though for the enemy against his country he did; but that Alcibiades, both as a soldier and a general, did great things for the Athenians. When amongst his fellow-citizens, Alcibiades was superior to all the attempts of his enemies, though their calumnies prevailed against him in his absence; whereas Coriolanus was condemned by the Romans, though present to defend himself; and at length killed by the Volscians, against all rights indeed, whether human or divine: nevertheless, he afforded them a colour for what they did, by granting that peace to the entreaties of the women, which he had refused to the application of the ambassadors; by that means leaving the enmity between the two nations, and the grounds of the war entire, and losing a very favourable opportunity for the Volscians. For surely he would not have drawn off the forces without the consent of those that committed them to his conduct, if he had sufficiently regarded his duty to them.

But if, without considering the Volscians in the least, he consulted his resentment only, in stirring up the war, and put a period to it again when that was satisfied, he should not have spared his country on his mother's account, but have spared her with it; for both his mother and wife made a part of his native city which he was besieging. But inhumanly to reject the application and entreaties of the ambassadors, and the petition of the priests, and then to consent to a retreat in favour of his mother, was not doing honour to his mother, but bringing disgrace upon his country; since, as if it was not worthy to be saved for its own sake, it appeared to be saved only in compassion to a woman. For the favour was invidious, and so far from being engaging, that, in fact, it favoured of cruelty, and consequently was unacceptable to both parties. He retired without being won by the supplications of those he was at war with, and without consent of those for whom he undertook it. The cause of all which was, the austerity of his manners, his arrogance and inflexibility of mind, things hateful enough to the people at all times; but, when united with ambition, savage and intolerable. Persons of his temper, as if they had no need of honours, neglect to ingratiate themselves with the multitude, and yet are excessively chagrined when those are denied them. It is true,

neither Metellus, nor Aristides, nor Epaminondas, were pliant to the people's humour, or could submit to flatter them; but then they had a thorough contempt of every thing that the people could either give or take away; and when they were banished, or, on any other occasion, mis-carried in the suffrages, or were condemned in large fines, they nourished no anger against their ungrateful country-men, but were satisfied with their repentance, and reconciled to them at their request. And, surely, he who is sparing in his assiduities to the people, can but with an ill grace think of revenging any slight he may suffer: for extreme resentment in case of disappointment in a pursuit of honour, must be the effect of an extreme desire of it.

Alcibiades, for his part readily acknowledged, that he was charmed with honours, and that he was very uneasy at being neglected; and therefore he endeavoured to recommend himself to those he had to do with, by every engaging art. But the pride of Coriolanus would not permit him to make his court to those who were capable of conferring honours upon him; and at the same time his ambition filled him with regret and indignation, when they passed him by. This, then, is the blameable part of his character; all the rest is great and glorious. In point of temperance and disregard of riches, he is fit to be compared with the most illustrious examples of integrity in Greece, and not with Alcibiades, who, in this respect, was the most profligate of men, and had the least regard for decency and honour.

TIMOLEON.

THE affairs of the Syracusans, before Timoleon was sent into Sicily, were in this posture: Dion having driven out Dionysius the tyrant, was soon assassinated; those that with him had been the means of delivering Syracuse, were divided among themselves; and the city, which only changed one tyrant for another, was oppressed with so many miseries, that it was almost desolate*. As for the

* Upon Dion's death, his murderer Calippus usurped the supreme power; but after ten months he was driven out, and slain with the same dagger which he had planted in the breast of his friend, Hippo-rinus, the brother of Dionysius, arriving with a numerous fleet, pol-

rest of Sicily, the wars had made part of it quite a desert, and most of the towns that remained were held by a confused mixture of barbarians and soldiers *, who having no regular pay, were ready for every change of government.

Such being the state of things, Dionysius, in the tenth year after his expulsion, having got together a body of foreigners, drove out Nysæus then master of Syracuse, recovered his own affairs, and re-established himself in his dominions. Thus he who had been unaccountably stripped by a small body of men of the greatest power that any tyrant ever possessed, still more unaccountably, of a beggarly fugitive, became the master of those who had expelled him. All, therefore, who remained in Syracuse, became slaves to a tyrant, who at the best was of an ungentle nature, and at that time exasperated by his misfortunes to a degree of savage ferocity. But the best and most considerable of the citizens having retired to Leetes, prince of the Leontines, put themselves under his protection; and chose him for their general. Not that he was better than the most avowed tyrants; but they had no other resource; and they were willing to repose some confidence in him, as being of a Syracusan family, and having an army able to encounter that of Dionysius.

In the mean time the Carthaginians appearing before Sicily with a great fleet, and being likely to avail themselves of the disordered state of the island, the Sicilians, struck with terror, determined to send an embassy into Greece, to beg assistance of the Corinthians; not only on account of their kindred to that people †, and the many services they had received from them on former occasions, but because they knew that Corinth was always a patroness of liberty and an enemy to tyrants, and that she had en-

feited himself of the city of Syracuse, and held it for the space of two years. Syracuse and all Sicily being thus divided into parties and factions, Dionysius the younger, who had been driven from the throne, taking advantage of these troubles, assembled some foreign troops; and having defeated Nysæus, who was then governor of Syracuse, reinstated himself in his dominions.

* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΥΣΑΙ ΑΠΙΟΔΑΙ.—

† The Syracusans were a colony from Corinth, founded by Archias the Corinthian, in the second year of the eleventh Olympiad, seven hundred and thirty-three years before the Christian era. Sicily had been planted with Phœnicians and other barbarous people, as the Grecians called them, above three hundred years before.

gaged in many considerable wars, not from a motive of ambition or avarice, but to maintain the freedom and independence of Greece. Hereupon Icetes, whose intention in accepting the command, was not so much to deliver Syracuse from its tyrants, as to set up himself there in the same capacity, treated privately with the Carthaginians, while in public he commended the design of the Syracusans, and dispatched ambassadors along with theirs into Peloponnesus. Not that he was desirous of succours from thence, but he hoped that if the Corinthians, on account of the troubles of Greece and their engagements at home, should, as it was likely enough, decline sending any, he might the more easily incline the balance to the side of the Carthaginians, and then make use of their alliance and their forces, either against the Syracusans or their present tyrant. That such were his views, a little time discovered.

When the ambassadors arrived, and their business was known, the Corinthians, always accustomed to give particular attention to the concerns of the colonies, and especially those of Syracuse, since by good fortune they had nothing to molest them in their own country, readily passed a vote that the succours should be granted. The next thing to be considered was, who should be general; when the magistrates put in nomination such as had endeavoured to distinguish themselves in the state; but one of the plebeians stood up, and proposed Timoleon, the son of Timodemus, who as yet had no share in the business of the commonwealth, and was so far from hoping or wishing for such an appointment, that it seemed some god inspired him with the thought; with such indulgence did fortune immediately promote his election, and so much did her favour afterwards signalize his actions, and add lustre to his valour!

His parentage was noble on both sides, for both his father Timodemus and his mother Demariste were of the best families in Corinth. His love of his country was remarkable, and so was the mildness of his disposition, saying that he bore an extreme hatred to tyrants and wicked men. His natural abilities for war were so happily tempered, that as an extraordinary prudence was seen in the enterprises of his younger years, so an undaunted courage distinguished his declining age. He had an elder brother, named Timophanes, who resembled him in nothing; being rash and indiscreet of himself, and utterly corrupted besides, by the passion for sovereignty, infused into him by some of

his profligate acquaintance, and certain foreign soldiers whom he had always about him. He appeared to be impetuous in war, and to court danger, which gave his countrymen such an opinion of his courage and activity, that they frequently intrusted him with the command of the army. And in these matters Timoleon much assisted him, by entirely concealing, or at least extenuating his faults, and magnifying the good qualities which nature had given him.

In a battle between the Corinthians and the troops of Argos and Cleone, Timoleon happened to serve among the infantry, when Timophanes, who was at the head of the cavalry, was brought into extreme danger: for his horse being wounded, threw him amidst the enemy. Hereupon, part of his companions were frightened, and presently dispersed; and the few that remained, having to fight with numbers, with difficulty staved their ground. Timoleon, seeing his brother in these circumstances, ran to his assistance, and covered him as he lay, with his shield, and after having received abundance of darts and many strokes of the sword upon his body and his armour, by great efforts repulsed the enemy, and saved him.

Some time after this, the Corinthians apprehensive that their city might be surprised through some treachery of their allies, as it had been before resolved to keep on foot four hundred mercenaries, gave the command of them to Timophanes. But he having no regard to justice or honour, soon entered into measures to subject the city to himself, and having put to death a number of the principal inhabitants without form of trial, declared himself absolute prince of it. Timoleon, greatly concerned at this, and accounting the treacherous proceedings of his brother, his own misfortune, went to expostulate with him, and endeavoured to persuade him to renounce this madness and unfortunate ambition, and to bethink himself how to make his fellow-citizens some amends for the crimes he had committed. But as he rejected his single admonition with disdain, he returned a few days after, taking with him a kinsman, named *Æschylus*, brother to the wife of Timophanes, and a certain soothsayer, a friend of his, whom Theopompus calls *Satyrus*, but *Ephorus* and *Timæus* mention by the name of *Orthagoras*. These three standing round him, earnestly entreated him yet to listen to reason and change his mind. Timophanes at first laughed at them, and afterwards gave way to a violent passion: upon which, Timoleon

stepped aside, and flood weeping, with his face covered, while the other two drew their swords, and dispatched him in a moment *.

The matter being soon generally known, the principal and most valuable part of the Corinthians extolled Timoleon's detestation of wickedness, and that greatness of soul which, notwithstanding the gentleness of his heart and his affection to his relations, led him to prefer his country to his family, and justice and honour to interest and advantage. While his brother fought valiantly for his country, he had saved him; and slain him, when he had treacherously enslaved it. Those who knew not how to live in a democracy, and had been used to make their court to men in power, pretended indeed to rejoice at the tyrant's death; but at the same time reviling Timoleon, as guilty of an horrible and impious deed, they created him great uneasiness. When he heard how heavily his mother bore it, and that she uttered the most dreadful wishes and imprecations against him, he went to excuse it and to console her: but she could not endure the thought of seeing him, and ordered the doors to be shut against him. He then became entirely a prey to sorrow, and attempted to put an end to his life by abstaining from all manner of food. In these unhappy circumstances his friends did not abandon him. They even added force to their entreaties till they prevailed on him to live. He determined, however, to live in solitude; and accordingly he withdrew from all public affairs, and for some years did not so much as approach the city, but wandered about the most gloomy parts of his grounds, and gave himself up to melancholy. Thus the judgment, if it borrows not from reason and philosophy sufficient strength and steadiness for action, is easily unsettled and depraved by any casual commendation or dispraise, and departs from its own purposes†. For an action should not only be just and laudable in itself,

* Diodorus, in the circumstances of this fact, differs from Plutarch. He tells us, that Timoleon having killed his brother in the market-place with his own hand, a great tumult arose among the citizens. To appease this tumult, an assembly was convened; and in the height of their debates the Syracusan ambassadors arrived, demanding a general: Whereupon they unanimously agreed to send Timoleon; but first let him know, that if he discharged his duty there well, he should be considered as one who had killed a tyrant; if not, as the murderer of his brother *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. c. 10.*

† Εκκριμέναι [αι κρίετις sc.] των οἰκείων λογισμῶν.

but the principle from which it proceeds, firm and immovable, in order that our conduct may have the sanction of our own approbation. Otherwise, upon the completion of any undertaking, we shall, through our own weakness, be filled with sorrow and remorse, and the splendid ideas of honour and virtue, that led us to perform it, will vanish; just as the glutton is soon cloyed and disgusted with the luscious viands which he had devoured with too keen an appetite. Repentance tarnishes the best actions; whereas the purposes that are grounded upon knowledge and reason never change; though they may happen to be disappointed of success. Hence it was that Phocion of Athens, having vigorously opposed the proceedings of Leosthenes*, which notwithstanding turned out much more happily than he expected; when he saw the Athenians offering sacrifice and elated with their victory, told them, *he was glad of their success, but if it was to do over again he should give the same counsel.* Still stronger was the answer which Aristides the Locrian, one of Plato's intimate friends, gave to Dionysius the elder, when he demanded one of his daughters in marriage, *I had rather see the virgin in her grave, than in the palace of a tyrant.* And when Dionysius soon after put his son to death, and then insolently asked him, *what he now thought as to the disposal of his daughter? I am sorry, said he, for what you have done, but I am not sorry for what I said.* However, it is only a superior and highly accomplished virtue that can attain such heights as these.

As for Timoleon's extreme dejection in consequence of the late fact, whether it proceeded from regret of his brother's fate, or the reverence he bore his mother, it so shattered and impaired his spirits, that for almost twenty years he was concerned in no important or public affair.

When, therefore, he was pitched upon for general, and accepted as such by the suffrages of the people, Teleclides, a man of the greatest power and reputation in Corinth, exhorted him to behave well, and to exert a generous valour in the execution of his commission: *For, said he, if your conduct be good, we shall consider you as the destroyer of a tyrant; if bad, as the murderer of your brother.*

While Timoleon was assembling his forces, and preparing to set sail, the Corinthians received letters from Icetes, which plainly discovered his revolt and treachery. For his

* See the Life of Phocion.

ambassadors were no sooner set out for Corinth, than he openly joined the Carthaginians, and acted in concert with them, in order to expel Dionysius from Syracuse, and usurp the tyranny himself. Fearing, moreover, lest he should lose his opportunity, by the speedy arrival of the army from Corinth, he wrote to the Corinthians to acquaint them, "That there was no occasion for them to put themselves to trouble and expence, or to expose themselves to the dangers of a voyage to Sicily; particularly, as the Carthaginians would oppose them, and were watching for their ships with a numerous fleet; and that indeed, on account of the slowness of their motions, he had been forced to engage those very Carthaginians to assist him against the tyrant."

If any of the Corinthians before were cold and indifferent as to the expedition, upon the reading of these letters they were one and all so incensed against Icetes, that they readily supplied Timoleon with whatever he wanted, and united their endeavours to expedite his sailing.

When the fleet was equipped, and the soldiers provided with all that was necessary, the priestesses of Proserpine had a dream, wherein that goddess and her mother Ceres appeared to them in a travelling garb, and told them, "That they intended to accompany Timoleon into Sicily." Hereupon the Corinthians equipped a sacred galley, which they called the *galley of the goddesses*. Timoleon himself went to Delphi, where he offered sacrifice to Apollo; and, upon his descending into the place where the oracles were delivered, was surprised with this wonderful occurrence: A wreath, embroidered with crowns and images of victory, slipped down from among the offerings that were hung up there, and fell upon Timoleon's head, so that Apollo seemed to send him out crowned, upon that enterprise.

He had seven ships of Corinth, two of Coreyra, and a tenth fitted out by the Leucadians, with which he put to sea. It was in the night that he set sail, and with a prosperous gale he was making his way, when on a sudden the heavens seemed to be rent asunder, and to pour upon his ship a bright and spreading flame, which soon formed itself into a torch, such as is used in the sacred mysteries, and having conducted them through their whole course, brought them to that quarter of Italy for which they designed to steer. The foothsayer declared that this appearance perfectly agreed with the dream of the priestesses, and that by this light from

heaven, the goddesses showed themselves interested in the success of the expedition. Particularly as Sicily was sacred to Proserpine; it being fabled that her rape happened there, and that the island was bestowed on her as a nuptial gift*.

The fleet, thus encouraged with tokens of the divine favour, very soon crossed the sea, and made the coast of Italy. But the news brought thither from Sicily, much perplexed Timoleon, and disheartened his forces. For Icetes having beaten Dionysius in a set battle†, and taken great part of Syracuse, had by a line of circumvallation, shut up the tyrant in the citadel and that part of the city which is called *the island*, and besieged him there. At the same time he ordered the Carthaginians to take care that Timoleon should not land in Sicily; hoping, when the Corinthians were driven off, without farther opposition, to share the island with his new allies. The Carthaginians, accordingly sent away twenty of their galleys to Rhegium, in which were ambassadors from Icetes to Timoleon, charged with proposals, quite as captious as his proceedings themselves: for they were nothing but specious and artful words, invented to give a colour to his treacherous designs. They were to make an offer, “That Timoleon “ might, if he thought proper, go and assist Icetes with “ his counsel, and share in his successes: but that he must “ send back his ships and troops to Corinth, since the war “ was almost finished, and the Carthaginians were deter- “ mined to prevent their passage, and ready to repel force “ with force.”

The Corinthians, then, as soon as they arrived at Rhegium, meeting with this embassy, and seeing the Carthaginians riding at anchor near them, were vexed at the insult: a general indignation was expressed against Icetes, and fear for the Sicilians, whom they plainly saw left as a prize, to reward Icetes for his treachery, and the Carthaginians for

* The bridegroom made a present to the bride, the third day after the wedding, when, according to the modesty of those ancient times, the bride appeared first without a veil; for which reason the present was called *ανακαλυπτηριον*.

† Icetes finding himself in want of provisions, withdrew from the siege of Syracuse towards his own country; whereupon Dionysius marched out and attacked his rear. But Icetes facing about, defeated him, killed three thousand of his men, and pursuing him into the city, got possession of part of it. Our author observed a little below, that Syracuse being divided by strong walls, was, as it were, an assemblage of cities.

assisting in setting him up tyrant. And it seemed impossible for them to get the better, either of the barbarians who were watching them with double their number of ships, or of the forces of Icetes, which they had expected would have joined them, and put themselves under their command.

Timoleon, on this occasion, coming to an interview with the ambassadors and the Carthaginian commanders, mildly said, “He would submit to their proposal,” for what could he gain by opposing them? “but he was desirous that they would give them in publicly before the people of Rhegium, ere he quitted that place, since it was a Grecian city, and common friend to both parties. For that this tended to his security, and they themselves would stand more firmly to their engagements, if they took that people for witnesses to them.”

This overture he made only to amuse them, intending all the while to steal a passage, and the magistrates of Rhegium entered heartily into his scheme; for they wished to see the affairs of Sicily in Corinthian hands, and dreaded the neighbourhood of the barbarians. They summoned, therefore, an assembly, and shut the gates, lest the citizens should go about any other business. Being convened, they made long speeches, one of them taking up the argument where another laid it down, with no other view than to gain time for the Corinthian galleys to get under sail; and the Carthaginians were easily detained in the assembly, as having no suspicion, because Timoleon was present, and it was expected every moment that he would stand up and make his speech. But upon secret notice that the other galleys had put to sea *, and his alone was left behind, by the help of the Rhegians who pressed close to the *rostrum*, and concealed him amongst them, he slipped through the crowd, got down to the shore, and hoisted sail with all speed.

He soon arrived, with all his vessels, at Tauromenium in Sicily, to which he had been invited some time before, and where he was now kindly received, by Andromachus, lord of that city. This Andromachus was father to Timaeus the historian; and being much the best of all the Sicilian princes of his time, he both governed his own people agreeably to the laws and principles of justice, and

* The Carthaginians believed that the departure of those nine galleys for Corinth had been agreed on between the officers of both parties, and that the tenth was left behind to carry Timoleon to Icetes.

had ever avowed his aversion and enmity to tyrants. On this account he readily allowed Timoleon to make his city a place of arms, and persuaded his people to co-operate with the Corinthians with all their force, in restoring liberty to the whole island.

The Carthaginians at Rhegium, upon the breaking up of the assembly, seeing that Timoleon was gone, were vexed to find themselves outwitted ; and it afforded no small diversion to the Reginians, *that Phœnicians should complain of any thing effected by guile* *. They dispatched, however, one of their galleys with an ambassador to Tauromenium, who represented the affair at large to Andromachus, insisting with much insolence and barbaric pride, that he should immediately turn the Corinthians out of his town ; and at last showing him his hand with the palm upwards, and then turning it down again, told him, if he did not comply with that condition, the Carthaginians *would overturn his city, just as he had turned his hand.* Andromachus only smiled, and without making him any other answer, stretched out his hand, first with one side up, and then the other, and bade him, *begone directly, if he did not choose to have his ship turned upside down in the same manner.*

Icetes hearing that Timoleon had made good his passage, was much alarmed, and sent for a great number of the Carthaginian galleys. The Syracusans then began to despair of a deliverance ; for they saw the Carthaginians masters of their harbour†, Icetes possessed of the city, and the citadel in the hands of Dionysius ; while Timoleon held only by a small border of the skirts of Sicily, the little town of Tauromenium, with a feeble hope and an inconsiderable force, having no more than a thousand men, and provisions barely sufficient for them. Nor had the Sicilian states any confidence in him, plunged as they were in misfortunes, and exasperated against all that pretended to lead armies to their succour, particularly on account of the perfidy of Callippus and Pharax. The one was an Athenian, and the other a Lacedæmonian, and both came with professions to do great things for the liberty of Sicily, and for demolishing the tyrants ; yet the Sicilians soon found that the reign of former oppressors was comparatively a golden age, and reckoned

* *Fraus punica*, Phœnician fraud, had passed into a proverb.

† The Carthaginians had a hundred and fifty men of war, fifty thousand foot, and three hundred chariots.

those far more happy who died in servitude than such as lived to see so dismal a kind of freedom. Expecting, therefore, that this Corinthian deliverer would be no better than those before him, and that the deceitful hand of art would reach out to them the same bait of good hopes and fair promises, to draw them into subjection to a new master, they all, except the people of Adranum, suspected the designs of the Corinthians, and declined their proposals. Adranum was a small city, consecrated to the god *Adranus**, who was held in high veneration throughout all Sicily. Its inhabitants were at variance with each other; some calling in Icetes and the Carthaginians, and others applying to Timoleon. Both generals, striving which should get there first, as fortune would have it, arrived about the same time. But Icetes had five thousand men with him, and Timoleon twelve hundred at the most, whom he drew out of Tauromenium, which was forty-two miles and a half from Adranum. The first day he made but a short march, and pitched his tents in good time. The next day he marched forward at a great pace, though the road was very rugged, and towards evening was informed that Icetes had just reached the town, and was encamping before it. At the same time his officers made the foremost division halt, to take some refreshment, that they might be the more vigorous in the ensuing engagement. This, however, was against the opinion of Timoleon, who entreated them to march forward as fast as possible, and to attack the enemy before they were put in order: it being probable, now they were just come off their march, that they were employed in pitching their tents and preparing their supper. He had no sooner given this order, than he took his buckler and put himself at the head of them, as leading them on to undoubted victory.

His men, thus encouraged, followed him very cheerfully, being now not quite thirty furlongs from Adranum. As soon as they came up, they fell upon the enemy, who were in great confusion, and ready to fly at their first approach. For this reason not many more than three hundred were killed, but twice as many were made prisoners, and the camp was taken.

Upon this the people of Adranum opened their gates to Timoleon, and joined his party, declaring with terror and

* This deity, by his *insignia* afterwards mentioned, should seem to be Mars. His temple was guarded by a hundred dogs.

astonishment, that during the battle, the sacred doors of the temple opened of their own accord, the spear of their god was seen to shake to the very point, and his face dropt with sweat. These things did not foreshow that victory only, but the future successes, to which this dispute was a fortunate prelude. For several cities, by their ambassadors, immediately joined in alliance with Timoleon; and Mamercus, sovereign of Catana, a warlike and wealthy prince, entered into the confederacy. But what was still more material, Dionysius himself, having bid adieu to hope, and unable to hold out much longer, despising Icetes, who was so shamefully beaten, and admiring the bravery of Timoleon, offered to deliver up to him and the Corinthians both himself and the citadel.

Timoleon accepted of this good fortune so superior to his hopes, and sent Euclides and Telemachus, two Corinthian officers into the citadel, as he did four hundred men besides, not altogether, nor openly, for that was impossible, because the enemy were upon their guard, but by stealth, and a few at a time. This corps, then, took possession of the citadel and the tyrant's moveables, with all that he had provided for carrying on the war, namely, a good number of horses, all manner of engines, and a vast quantity of darts. They found also arms for seventy thousand men which had been laid up of old, and two thousand soldiers with Dionysius, whom he delivered up along with the flores to Timoleon. But the tyrant reserved his money to himself, and having got on board a ship, he sailed with a few of his friends, without being perceived by Icetes, and reached the camp of Timoleon.

Then it was that he first appeared in the humble figure of a private man *, and, as such, he was sent with one ship and a very moderate sum of money, to Corinth; he that was born in a splendid court, and educated as heir to the most absolute monarchy that ever existed. He held it for ten years †; and for twelve more, from the time that

* Dionysius was born to absolute power, whereas most other tyrants, Dionysius the elder, for instance, had raised themselves to it, and some from a mean condition.

† For he began his reign in the first year of the hundred and third Olympiad, three hundred and sixty-six years before the Christian era, Dion took arms against him in the fourth year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad; and he delivered up the citadel to Timoleon, and was sent to Corinth, in the first year of the hundred and ninth.

Dion took up arms against him, he was exercised continually in wars and troubles: insomuch that the mischiefs caused by his tyranny, were abundantly recompensed upon his own head in what he suffered. He saw his sons die in their youth, his daughters deflowered, and his sister, who was also his wife, exposed to the brutal lusts of his enemies, and then slaughtered with her children, and thrown into the sea; as we have related more particularly in the life of Dion.

When Dionysius arrived at Corinth, there was hardly a man in Greece, who was not desirous to see him and discourse with him. Some hating the man, and rejoicing at his misfortunes, came for the pleasure of insulting him in his present distresses: others, whose sentiments, with respect to him, were somewhat changed, and who were touched with compassion for his fate, plainly saw the influence of an invisible and divine power, displayed in the affairs of feeble mortals. For neither nature nor art produced in those times any thing so remarkable as that work of fortune *, which showed the man who was lately sovereign of Sicily, now holding conversation in a butcher's shop at Corinth, or sitting whole days in a perfumer's; or drinking the diluted wine of taverns; or squabbling in the streets with lewd women; or directing female musicians in their singing, and disputing with them seriously about the harmony of certain airs that were sung in the theatre †.

Some were of opinion, that he fell into these unworthy amusements, as being naturally idle, effeminate, and dissolute: but others thought it was a stroke of policy, and that he rendered himself desppicable to prevent his being feared by the Corinthians; contrary to his nature, affecting that meanness and stupidity, lest they should imagine the change of his circumstances sat heavy upon him, and that he aimed at establishing himself again.

Nevertheless, some sayings of his are recorded, by which it should seem that he did not bear his present misfortunes in an abject manner. When he arrived at Leucas, which was a Corinthian colony as well as Syracuse, he said, " He

* Plutarch adds *nor art*, to give us to understand that the tragic poet's had not represented so signal a catastrophe, even in fable.

† Some writers tell us, that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced, obliged him to open a school at Corinth, where he exercised that tyranny over children which he could no longer practice over men. *Cic. Tusc. Quæst.* I. iii.

“ found himself in a situation like that of young men who
 “ had been guilty of some misdemeanor. For as they con-
 “ verse cheerfully, notwithstanding, with their brothers,
 “ but are abashed at the thought of coming before their
 “ fathers, so he was ashamed of going to live in the mo-
 “ ther city, and could pass his days much more to his sa-
 “ tisfaction with them.” Another time, when a certain
 stranger derided him, at Corinth, in a very rude and scorn-
 ful manner, for having, in the meridian of his power, ta-
 ken pleasure in the discourse of philosophers, and at last
 asked him, “ What he had got by the wisdom of Plato ?”
 “ Do you think,” said he, “ that we have reaped no ad-
 “ vantage from Plato, when we bear in this manner such
 “ a change of fortune ?” Aristoxenus the musician, and
 some others, having inquired “ What was the ground of
 “ his displeasure against Plato ?” He answered, “ That
 “ absolute power abounded with evils : but had this great
 “ infelicity above all the rest, that among the number of
 “ those who call themselves the friends of an arbitrary
 “ prince, there is not one who will speak his mind to him
 “ freely ; and that by such false friends he had been de-
 “ prived of the friendship of Plato.”

Some one who had a mind to be arch, and to make merry with Dionysius, shook his robe when he entered his apartment, as is usual when persons approach a tyrant ; and he, returning the jest very well, bade him, “ Do “ the same when he went out, that he might not carry “ off some of the moveables.”

One day, over their cups, Philip of Macedon, with a kind of sneer, introduced some discourse about the odes*

* Dionysius, the elder, valued himself upon his poetry, but has been censured as the worst poet in the world. Philoxenus, who was himself an excellent poet, attempted to undeceive him in the favourable opinion he had of his own abilities, but was sent to the Quarries for the liberty he took. However, the next day, he was restored to favour, and Dionysius repeated to him some verses he had taken extraordinary pains with, expecting his approbation. But the poet, instead of giving it, looked round to the guards, and said to them, very humorously, “ Take me back to the Quarries.” Notwithstanding this, Dionysius disputed the prize of poetry at the Olympic games ; but there he was hissed, and the rich pavilion he had sent, torn in pieces. He had better success, however, at Athens ; for he gained the prize of poetry at the celebrated feast of Bacchus. On this occasion he was in such raptures that he drank to excess ; and the debauch threw him into violent pains ; to allay which, he asked for a soporative, and his physicians gave him one that laid him asleep, out of which he never awaked.

and tragedies which Dionysius, the elder, left behind him, and pretended to doubt how he could find leisure for such works. Dionysius answered smartly enough, “They were “written in the time which you and I, and other happy “fellows spend over the bowl.”

Plato did not see Dionysius in Corinth, for he had now been dead some time. But Diogenes of Sinope, when he first met him, addressed him as follows: “How little dost “thou deserve to live!” Thus Dionysius answered: “It “is kind in you to sympathize with me in my misfortunes.” “Dost thou think then,” said Diogenes, “that I have any “pity for thee, and that I am not rather vexed that such a “slave as thou art, and so fit to grow old and die, like thy “father, on a tyrant’s uneasy throne, should, instead of “that, live with us here in mirth and pleasure.” So that when I compare, with these words of the philosopher, the deleful expressions of Philistus, in which he bewails the fate of the daughters of Leptines*, “That from the great “and splendid enjoyments of absolute power, they were “reduced to a private and humble station,” they appear to one the lamentations of a woman, who regrets her perfumes, her purple robes, and golden trinkets. This account of the sayings of Dionysius, seems to me neither foreign from biography, nor without its ultiy to such readers as are not in a hurry, or taken up with other concerns.

If the ill fortune of Dionysius appeared surprising, the success of Timoleon was no less wonderful. For within fifty days after his landing in Sicily, he was master of the citadel of Syracuse, and sent off Dionysius into Peloponnesus. The Corinthians, encouraged with these advantages, sent him a reinforcement of two thousand foot and two hundred horse. These got on their way as far as Thurium; but finding it impracticable to gain a passage from thence, because the sea was beset with a numerous fleet of Carthaginians, they were forced to stop there, and watch their opportunity. However, they employed their time in a very noble undertaking. For the Thurians, marching out of their city to war against the Brutians, left it in charge with these Corinthian strangers, who defended it with as much honour and integrity, as if it had been their own.

* Leptines, as mentioned below, was tyrant of Apollonia.

Meantime, Icetes carried on the siege of the citadel with great vigour and blocked it up so close, that no provisions could be got in for the Corinthian garrison. He provided also two strangers to assassinate Timoleon, and sent them privately to Adranum. That general, who never kept any regular guards about him, lived then with the Adranites without any sort of precaution or suspicion, by reason of his confidence in their tutelary god. The assassins being informed that he was going to offer sacrifice, went into the temple with their poniards under their clothes, and mixing with those that stood round the altar, got nearer to him by little and little. They were just going to give each other the signal to begin, when somebody struck one of them on the head with his sword, and laid him at his feet. Neither he that struck the blow kept his station, nor the companion of the dead man; the former, with his sword in his hand, fled to the top of a high rock, and the latter laid hold on the altar, entreating Timoleon to spare his life, on condition that he discovered the whole matter. Accordingly, pardon was promised him, and he confessed that he and the person who lay dead, were sent on purpose to kill him.

Whilst he was making this confession, the other man was brought down from the rock, and loudly protested, that he was guilty of no injustice, for he only took righteous vengeance on the wretch who had murdered his father in the city of Leontium*. And for the truth of this, he appealed to several that were there present, who all attested the same, and could not but admire the wonderful management of fortune, which, moving one thing by another, bringing together the most distant incidents, and combining those that have no manner of relation, but rather the greatest dissimilarity, makes such use of them, that the close of one proceeds always the beginning of another. The Corinthians rewarded the man with a present of ten *mina*, because his hand had co-operated with the guardian genius of Timoleon, and he had reserved the satisfaction for his private wrongs to the time when fortune availed herself of it to save the general. This happy escape had effects beyond the present, for it inspired the Corinthians with high expecta-

* History can hardly afford a stronger instance of an interfering PROVIDENCE.

tions of Timoleon, when they saw the Sicilians now reverence and guard him, as a man whose person was sacred, and who was come as minister of the gods, to avenge and deliver them.

When Icetes had failed in this attempt, and saw many of the Sicilians going over to Timoleon, he blamed himself for making use of the Carthaginians in small numbers only, and availing himself of their assistance as it were by stealth, and as if he were ashamed of it, when they had such immense forces at hand. He sent, therefore, for Mago their commander in chief, and his whole fleet; who, with terrible pomp, took possession of the harbour with a hundred and fifty ships, and landed an army of sixty thousand men, which encamped in the city of Syracuse; insomuch that every one imagined the inundation of barbarians, which had been announced and expected of old, was now come upon Sicily. For in the many wars which they had waged in that island, the Carthaginians had never before been able to take Syracuse; but Icetes then receiving them, and delivering up the city to them, the whole became a camp of barbarians.

The Corinthians, who still held the citadel, found themselves in very dangerous and difficult circumstances; for besides that they were in want of provisions, because the port was guarded and blocked up, they were employed in sharp and continual disputes about the walls, which were attacked with all manner of machines and batteries, and for the defence of which they were obliged to divide themselves. Timoleon, however, found means to relieve them, by sending a supply of corn from Catana in small fishing-boats and little skiffs, which watched the opportunity to make their way through the enemy's fleet, when it happened to be separated by a storm. Mago and Icetes no sooner saw this, than they resolved to make themselves masters of Catana, from which provisions were sent to the besieged; and taking with them the best of their troops, they sailed from Syracuse. Leo, the Corinthian, who commanded in the citadel, having observed from the top of it, that those of the enemy who layed behind, abated their vigilance, and kept but an indifferent guard, suddenly fell upon them as they were dispersed; and killing some, and putting the rest to flight, gained the quarter called *Achradina*, which was much the strongest, and had suffered the least from the enemy; for

Syracuse is an assemblage, as it were, of towns*. Finding plenty of provisions and money there, he did not give up the acquisition, nor return into the citadel, but stood upon his defence in the *Achradina*, having fortified it quite round, and joined it by new works to the citadel. Mago and Icetes were now near Catana, when a horseman, dispatched from Syracuse, brought them tidings that the *Achradina* was taken; which struck them with such surprise, that they returned in great hurry, having neither taken the place which they went against, nor kept that which they had before.

Perhaps prudence and valour have as much right as fortune to lay claim to these successes; but the event that next ensued, is wholly to be ascribed to the favour of fortune. The corps of Corinthians that were at Thurium, dreading the Carthaginian fleet, which, under the command of Hanno, observed their motions, and finding, at the same time, that the sea for many days was stormy and tempestuous, determined to march through the country of the Brutians; and partly by persuasion, partly by force, they made good their passage through the territories of the barbarians, and came down to Rhegium, the sea still continuing rough, as before.

The Carthaginian admiral, not expecting the Corinthians would venture out, thought it was in vain to sit still; and having persuaded himself that he had invented one of the finest stratagems in the world, ordered the mariners to crown themselves with garlands, and to dress up the galleys with Grecian and Phœnician bucklers†, and thus equipped, he sailed to Syracuse. When he came near the citadel, he hailed it with loud huzzas and expressions of triumph, declaring that he was just come from beating the Corinthian

* There were four; the *Isle*, or the citadel, which was between the two ports; *Achradina*, at a little distance from the citadel; *Tyber*, so called from the temple of Fortune; and *Neapolis*, or the new city. To these some eminent authors (and Plutarch is of the number) add a fifth, which they call *Epipole*.

† As it seems absurd to make mention here of Phœnician bucklers, since they could be no token that the Greeks were beaten; M. Dacier conjectures that the word *φοινικιον* should not be taken for a patronymic, nor written with a capital, but with a simple φ, and then it may signify *glistening with purple*: So Plutarch, a little below, takes notice of *ασπίδας φεγειογραφίας*.

But it must be acknowledged that the *ναι* before the *φοινικιον* stands in the way of that correction.

succours, whom he had met with at sea, as they were endeavouring at a passage. By this means he hoped to strike terror into the besieged. While he was acting this part, the Corinthians got down to Rhegium, and as the coast was clear, and the wind falling as it were miraculously, promised smooth water and a safe voyage, they immediately went aboard such barks and fishing-boats as they could find, and passed over into Sicily with so much safety, and in such a dead calm, that they even drew the horses by the reins, swimming by the side of the vessels.

When they were all landed, and had joined Timoleon, he soon took Messana * ; and from thence he marched in good order to Syracuse, depending more upon his good fortune than his forces, for he had not above four thousand men with him. On the first news of his approach, Mago was greatly perplexed and alarmed, and his suspicions were increased on the following occasions: The marshes about Syracuse †, which receive a great deal of fresh water from the springs, and from the lakes and rivers that discharge themselves there into the sea, have such abundance of eels, that there is always plenty for those that choose to fish for them. The common soldiers of both sides amused themselves promiscuously with that sport, at their vacant hours, and upon any cessation of arms. As they were all Greeks, and had no pretence for any private animosity against each other, they fought boldly when they met in battle, and in time of truce they mixed together, and conversed familiarly. Bused at one of these times in their common diversion of fishing, they fell into discourse, and expressed their admiration of the convenience of the sea and the situation of the adjacent places. Whereupon, one of the Corinthian soldiers thus addressed those that served under Icetes: "And can you, who are Greeks, readily consent to " reduce this city, so spacious in itself, and blest with so many " advantages, into the power of the barbarians, and to bring " the Carthaginians, the most deceitful and bloody of them " all, into our neighbourhood; when you ought to wish that " between them and Greece there were many Sicilies? Or " can you think that they have brought an armed force " from the pillars of Hercules and the Atlantic Ocean, and

* *Messana* in the ancient Sicilian pronunciation; now *Messina*.

† There is one morass that is called *Lysimelia*, and another called *Syraco*. From this last the city took its name. These morasses make the air of Syracuse very unwholesome.

"braved the hazards of war, purely to erect a principality for Icetes ; who, if he had had the prudence which becomes a general, would never have driven out his founders, to call into his country the worst of its enemies, when he might have obtained of the Corinthians and Timoleon any proper degree of honour and power."

The soldiers that were in pay with Icetes, repeating their discourses often in their camp, gave Mago, who had long wanted a pretence to be gone, room to suspect that he was betrayed. And though Icetes entreated him to stay, and remonstrated upon their great superiority to the enemy, yet he weighed anchor, and sailed back to Africa, shamefully and unaccountably suffering Sicily to slip out of his hands.

Next day, Timoleon drew up his army in order of battle before the place ; but when he and his Corinthians were told that Mago was fled, and saw the harbour empty, they could not forbear laughing at his cowardice ; and by way of mockery, they caused proclamation to be made about the city, promising a reward to any one that could give information where the Carthaginian fleet was gone to hide itself. Icetes, however, had still the spirit to stand a farther shock, and would not let go his hold, but vigorously defended those quarters of the city which he occupied, and which appeared almost impregnable. Timoleon, therefore, divided his forces into three parts ; and himself with one of them made his attack by the river Anapus, where he was likely to meet with the warmest reception ; commanding the second, which was under Irias the Corinthian, to begin their operations from the *Achradina*, while Dinarchus and Demaretus, who brought the last reinforcement from Corinth, should attempt the *Epipole* : So that several impressions being made at the same time, and on every side, the soldiers of Icetes were overpowered, and put to flight. Now, that the city was taken by assault, and suddenly reduced, upon the flight of the enemy, we may justly impute to the bravery of the troops, and the ability of their general ; but that not one Corinthian was either killed or wounded, the fortune of Timoleon claims entirely to herself, willing, as she seems, to maintain a dispute with his valour, and that those who read his story, may rather admire his happy success, than the merit of his actions. The fame of this great achievement soon overspread not only Sicily and Italy, but in a few days it resounded through Greece : so that the city of Corinth, which was in some doubt whether

its fleet was arrived in Sicily, was informed by the same messengers, that its forces had made good their passage, and were victorious. So well did their affairs prosper, and so much lustre did fortune add to the gallantry of their exploits, by the speediness of their execution.

Timoleon, thus master of the citadel, did not proceed like Dion, or spare the place for its beauty and magnificence; but guarding against the suspicions, which first flattered, and then destroyed that great man, he ordered the public crier to give notice, “That all the Syracusans who were willing to have a hand in the work, should come with proper instruments to destroy the bulwarks of tyranny.” Hereupon they came one and all, considering that proclamation and that day as the surest commencement of their liberty; and they not only demolished the citadel, but levelled with the ground both the palaces and the monuments of the tyrants. Having soon cleared the place, he built a common hall there for the seat of judicature, at once to gratify the citizens, and to show that a popular government should be erected on the ruins of tyranny.

The city thus taken was found comparatively destitute of inhabitants. Many had been slain in the wars and intestine broils, and many more had fled from the rage of the tyrants. Nay, so little frequented was the market-place of Syracuse, that it produced grass enough for the horses to pasture upon, and for the grooms to repose themselves by them. The other cities, except a very few, were entire deserts full of deer and wild boars, and such as had leisure for it, often hunted them in the suburbs and about the walls; while none of those that had possessed themselves of castles and strong holds, could be persuaded to quit them, or come down into the city, for they looked with hatred and horror upon the tribunals and other seats of government, as so many nurseries of tyrants. Timoleon and the Syracusans, therefore, thought proper to write to the Corinthians, to send them a good number from Greece, to people Syracuse, because the land must otherwise lie uncultivated, and because they expected a more formidable war from Africa, being informed that Mago had killed himself, and that the Carthaginians, provoked at his bad conduct in the expedition, had crucified his body, and were collecting great forces for the invasion of Sicily the ensuing summer.

These letters of Timoleon's being delivered, the Syracusan ambassadors attended at the same time, and begged of the

Corinthians to take their city into their protection, and to become founders of it anew. They did not, however, hastily seize that advantage, or appropriate the city to themselves, but first sent to the sacred games, and the other great assemblies of Greece, and caused proclamation to be made by their heralds: "That the Corinthians having abolished arbitrary power in Syracuse, and expelled the tyrant, invited all Syracuseans and other Sicilians to people that city, where they should enjoy their liberties and privileges, and have the lands divided by equal lots among them." Then they sent envoys into Asia and the islands, where they were told the greatest part of the fugitives were dispersed, to exhort them all to come to Corinth, where they should be provided with vessels, commanders, and a convoy at the expence of the Corinthians, to conduct them safe to Syracuse. Their intentions thus published, the Corinthians enjoyed the justest praise, and the most distinguished glory, having delivered a Grecian city from tyrants, saved it from the barbarians, and restored the citizens to their country. But the persons who met on this occasion at Corinth, not being a sufficient number, desired that they might take others along with them from Corinth, and the rest of Greece, as new colonists; by which means, having made up their number full ten thousand, they sailed to Syracuse. By this time great multitudes from Italy and Sicily had flocked into Timoleon; who finding their number, as Athanis reports, amount to sixty thousand, freely divided the lands among them, but sold the houses for a thousand talents. By this contrivance he both left it in the power of the ancient inhabitants to redeem their own, and took occasion also to raise a stock for the community, who had been so poor in all respects, and so little able to furnish the supplies for the war, that they had sold the very statues, after having formed a judicial process against each, and passed sentence upon them, as if they had been so many criminals. On this occasion we are told, they spared one statue, when all the rest were condemned, namely, that of Gelon, one of their ancient kings, in honour of the man, and for the sake of the victory * which he gained over the Carthaginians at Himera.

* He defeated Hamilcar, who landed in Sicily, with three hundred thousand men, in the second year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad.

Syracuse being thus revived, and replenished with such a number of inhabitants who flocked to it from all quarters, Timoleon was desirous to bestow the blessing of liberty on the other cities also, and once for all to extirpate arbitrary government out of Sicily. For this purpose, marching into the territories of the petty tyrants, he compelled Icetes to quit the interests of Carthage, to agree to demolish his castles, and to live among the Leontines as a private person. Leptines also, prince of Appollonia and several other little towns, finding himself in danger of being taken, surrendered, and had his life granted him, but was sent to Corinth: For Timoleon looked upon it as a glorious thing, that the tyrants of Sicily should be forced to live as exiles in the city which had colonized that island*, and should be seen, by the Greeks, in such an abject condition.

After this, he returned to Syracuse to settle the civil government, and to establish the most important and necessary laws†, along with Cephalus and Dinarchus, lawgivers sent from Corinth. In the meanwhile, willing that the mercenaries should reap some advantage from the enemy's country, and be kept from inaction, he sent Dinarchus and Demaretus into the Carthaginian province. These drew several cities from the Punic interest, and not only lived in abundance themselves, but also raised money, from the plunder, for carrying on the war. While these matters were transacting, the Carthaginians arrived at Lilybæum, with seventy thousand land forces, two hundred galleys, and a thousand other vessels, which carried machines of war, chariots, vast quantities of provisions, and all other stores; as if they were now determined not to carry on the war by piecemeal, but to drive the Greeks entirely out of Sicily. For their force was sufficient to effect this, even if the Sicilians had been united, and much more so, harassed as they were with mutual animosities. When the Carthaginians therefore found that their Sicilian territories were laid

* εν τη μητροπολει —

† Among other wise institutions, he appointed a chief magistrate to be chosen yearly, whom the Syracusans called the *Amphipolus* of Jupiter Olympius; thus giving him a kind of sacred character. The first *Amphipolus* was Commenes. Hence arose the custom among the Syracusans to compute their years by the respective governments of these magistrates; which custom continued in the time of Diodorus Siculus, that is, in the reign of Augustus, above three hundred years after the office of *Amphipolus* was first introduced. *Ductor. Scul. l. xvi. c. 12.*

wife, they marched, under the command of Asdrubal and Hamilcar, in great fury against the Corinthians.

Information of this being brought directly to Syracuse, the inhabitants were struck with such terror by that prodigious armament, that scarce three thousand, out of ten times that number, took up arms and ventured to follow Timoleon. The mercenaries were in number four thousand, and of them about a thousand gave way to their fears, when upon their march, and turned back, crying out, “That Timoleon must be mad or in his dotage, to go against an army of seventy thousand men, with only five thousand foot and a thousand horse, and to draw his handful of men, too, eight days march from Syracuse; by which means there could be no refuge for those that fled, nor burial for those that fell in battle.”

Timoleon considered it as an advantage, that these cowards discovered themselves before the engagement; and having encouraged the rest, he led them hastily to the banks of the Crimetus, where he was told the Carthaginians were drawn together. But as he was ascending an hill, at the top of which the enemy’s camp and all their vast forces would be in sight, he met some mules loaded with parsley; and his men took it into their heads, that it was a bad omen, because we usually crown the sepulchres with parsley, and thence the proverb with respect to one that is dangerously ill, *Such a one has need of nothing but parsley.* To deliver them from this superstition, and to remove the panic, Timoleon ordered the troops to halt, and making a speech suitable to the occasion, observed, among other things, “That crowns were brought them before the victory, and offered themselves of their own accord.” For the Corinthians from all antiquity having looked upon a wreath of parsley as sacred, crowned the victors with it at the Isthmian games: in Timoleon’s time it was still in use at those games, as it is now at the Nemean, and it is but lately that the pine-branch has taken its place. The general having addressed his army as we have said, took a chaplet of parsley, and crowned himself with it first, and then his officers and the common soldiers did the same. At that instant the foot-sayers observing two eagles flying towards them, one of which bore a serpent which he had piercéd through with his talons, while the other advanced with a loud and

animating noise, pointed them out to the army, who all betook themselves to prayer and invocation of the gods.

The summer was now begun, and the end of the month *Thargelion* * brought on the solstice ; the river then sending up a thick mist, the field was covered with it at first, so that nothing in the enemy's camp was discernible, only an inarticulate and confused noise which reached the summit of the hill, showed that a great army lay at some distance. But when the Corinthians had reached the top, and laid down their shields to take breath, the sun had raised the vapours higher, so that the fog being collected upon the summits, covered *them* only, while the places below were all visible. The river Crinacus appeared clearly, and the enemy were seen crossing it, first with chariots drawn by four horses, and formidably provided for the combat ; behind which there marched ten thousand men with white bucklers. These they conjectured to be Carthaginians, by the brightness of their armour, and the slowness and good order in which they moved. They were followed by the troops of other nations, who advanced in a confused and tumultuous manner.

Timoleon observing that the river put it in his power to engage with what number of the enemy he pleased, bade his men take notice how the main body was divided by the stream, part having already got over and part preparing to pass it ; and ordered Demaretus with the cavalry to attack the Carthaginians and put them in confusion, before they had time to range themselves in order of battle. Then he himself descending into the plain with the infantry, formed the wings out of other Sicilians, intermingling a few strangers with them ; but the natives of Syracuse and the most warlike of the mercenaries he placed about himself in the centre, and stopped a while to see the success of the horse. When he saw that they could not come up to grapple with the Carthaginians, by reason of the chariots that ran to and fro before their army, and that they were obliged often to wheel about, to avoid the danger of ha-

* Here we see the uncertainty of the Grecian months. The writers on that subject, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for instance (Rom. Antiqu. lib. i.), take *Thargelion* to be *April*. And yet here we are told, the end of that month was near the solstice—*Το περιθετικόν θέρινος θέριος είχεν ἀργανόν καὶ ληρόντι μηνιν Ουργυλιανόν, προς τας τροπας ηδη συνντέτει τοι ταῖς γοργοῖς.* Hence it is, that Dacier ventures, in this place, to translate it *June*, the solstice certainly being in that month.

ving their ranks broken, and then to rally again and return to the charge, sometimes here sometimes there, he took his buckler, and called to the foot to follow him, and be of good courage, with an accent that seemed more than human, so much was it above his usual pitch ; whether it was exalted by his ardour and enthusiasm, or whether (as many were of opinion) the voice of some god was joined to his. His troops answering him with a loud shout, and pressing him to lead them on without delay, he sent orders to the cavalry to get beyond the line of chariots, and to take the enemy in flank, while himself thickening his first ranks, so as to join buckler to buckler, and causing the trumpet to sound, bore down upon the Carthaginians. They sustained the first shock with great spirit : for being fortified with breastplates of iron and helmets of brass, and covering themselves with large shields, they could easily repel the spears and javelins. But when the busines came to a decission by the sword, where art is no less requisite than strength, all on a sudden there broke out dreadful thunders from the mountains, mingled with long trails of lightning ; after which the black clouds, descending from the tops of the hills, fell upon the two armies in a storm of wind, rain, and hail. The tempest was on the backs of the Greeks, but beat upon the faces of the barbarians, and almost blinded them with the stormy showers and the fire continually streaming from the clouds.

These things very much distressed the barbarians, particularly such of them as were not veterans. The greatest inconvenience seems to have been the roaring of the thunder, and the clattering of the rain and hail upon their arms, which hindered them from hearing the orders of their officers. Besides, the Carthaginians not being light, but heavy armed, as I said, the dirt was troublesome to them ; and, as the bosoms of their tunics were filled with water, they were very unwieldy in the combat, so that the Greeks could overturn them with ease ; and when they were down, it was impossible for them, encumbered as they were with arms, to get up out of the mire. For the river Crimetus swoln partly with the rains, and partly having its course impeded by the vast numbers that crossed it, had overflowed its banks. The adjacent field, having many cavities and low places in it, was filled with water which settled there, and the Carthaginians falling into them, could not disengage themselves without extreme difficulty. In short, the

Storm continuing to beat upon them with great violence, and the Greeks having cut to pieces four hundred men who composed their first ranks, their whole body was put to flight. Great numbers were overtaken in the field, and put to the sword; many took to the river, and, jostling with those that were yet passing it, were carried down and drowned. The major part, who endeavoured to gain the hills, were stopped by the light armed soldiers, and slain. Among the ten thousand that were killed, it is said there were three thousand natives of Carthage; a heavy loss to that city: for none of its citizens were superior to these, either in birth, fortune, or character, nor have we any account that so many Carthaginians ever fell before in one battle; but as they mostly made use of Libyans, Spaniards, and Numidians in their wars, if they lost a victory, it was at the expence of the blood of strangers.

The Greeks discovered by the spoils the quality of the killed. Those that stripped the dead, set no value upon brass or iron, such was the abundance of silver and gold: for they passed the river, and made themselves masters of the camp and baggage. Many of the prisoners were clandestinely sold by the soldiers, but five thousand were delivered in upon the public account, and two hundred chariots also were taken. The tent of Timoleon afforded the most beautiful and magnificent spectacle. In it were piled all manner of spoils, among which a thousand breastplates of exquisite workmanship, and ten thousand bucklers, were exposed to view. As there was but a small number to collect the spoils of such a multitude, and they found such immense riches, it was the third day after the battle before they could erect the trophy. With the first news of the victory, Timoleon sent to Corinth the handsomest of the arms he had taken, desirous that the world might admire and emulate his native city, when they saw the fairest temples adorned, not with Grecian spoils, nor with the unpleasing monuments of kindred blood and domestic ruin, but with the spoils of barbarians, which bore this honourable inscription, declaring the justice as well as valour of the conquerors, "That the people of Corinth, and Timoleon their general, having delivered the Greeks who dwelt in Sicily, from the Carthaginian yoke, made this offering, as a grateful acknowledgment to the gods."

After this Timoleon left the mercenaries to lay waste the Carthaginian province, and returned to Syracuse. By an

dict published there he banished from Sicily the thousand hired soldiers who deserted him before the battle, and obliged them to quit Syracuse before the sun set. These wretches passed over into Italy, where they were treacherously slain by the Brutians. Such was the vengeance which heaven took of their perfidiousness.

Nevertheless, Mamereus, prince of Catana, and Icetes, either moved with envy at the success of Timoleon, or dreading him as an implacable enemy, who thought no faith was to be kept with tyrants, entered into league with the Carthaginians, and desired them to send a new army and general if they were not willing to lose Sicily entirely. Hereupon, Gisco came with a fleet of seventy ships, and a body of Greeks whom he had taken into pay. The Carthaginians had not employed any Greeks before, but now they considered them as the bravest and most invincible of men.

On this occasion, the inhabitants of Messina rising with one consent, slew four hundred of the foreign soldiers, whom Timoleon had sent to their assistance; and within the dependencies of Carthage, the mercenaries, commanded by Euthymus the Leucadian, were cut off by an ambush at a place called Hieræ *. Hence the good fortune of Timoleon became still more famous: for these were some of the men who with Philodemus of Phocis and Onomarchus, had broke into the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and were partakers with them in the sacrilege †. Shunned as execrable on this account, they wandered about Peloponnesus, where Timoleon, being in great want of men, took them into pay. When they came into Sicily, they were victorious in all the battles where he commanded in person; but after the great struggles of the war were over, being sent upon service where succours were required they perished by little

* We do not find there was any place in Sicily called *Hieræ*: in probability therefore, it should be read *Hicæ*; for Stephanus de Bry mentions a castle in Sicily of that name.

† The *hated war* commenced on this occasion. The *Amphytrions* having condemned the people of Phocis in a heavy fine, for plundering the country of Cyrrha which was dedicated to Apollo, and the people being unable to pay it, their whole country was judged forfeited to that god. Hereupon Philomelus, not Philodemus, called the people together, and advised them to seize the treasures in the temple of Delphi, to enable them to hire forces to defend themselves. This brought on a war that lasted six years; in the course of which most of the sacrilegious persons perished miserably.

and little. Herein avenging justice seems to have been willing to make use of the prosperity of Timoleon as an apology for its delay, taking care, as it did, that no harm might happen to the good from the punishment of the wicked ; insomuch that the favour of the gods to that great man, was no less discerned and admired in his very losses, than in his greatest success.

Upon any of these little advantages, the tyrants took occasion to ridicule the Syracusans ; at which they were highly incensed. Mamercus, for instance, who valued himself on his poems and tragedies, talked in a pompous manner of the victory he had gained over the mercenaries, and ordered this insolent inscription to be put upon the shields which he dedicated to the gods,

These shields * with gold and ivory gay
To our plain bucklers lost the day.

Afterwards, when Timoleon was laying siege to Calauria, Icetes took the opportunity to make an inroad into the territories of Syracuse, where he met with considerable booty ; and having made great havoc, he marched back by Calauria itself, in contempt of Timoleon and the slender force he had with him. Timoleon suffered him to pass, and then followed him with his cavalry and light-armed foot. When Icetes saw he was pursued he crossed the Laymyrias †, and stood in a posture to receive the enemy, on the other side. What emboldened him to do this, was the difficulty of the passage, and the steepness of the banks on both sides. But a strange dispute of jealousy and honour, which arose among the officers of Timoleon, awhile delayed the combat : for there was not one that was willing to go after another, but every man wanted to be foremost in the attack ; so that their fording was likely to be very tumultuous and disorderly by their jostling each other, and pressing to get before. To remedy this, Timoleon ordered them to decide the matter by lot, and that each for this purpose, should give him his ring. He took the rings and shook them in the skirt of his robe, and the first that came up, happening to have a trophy for the seal, the young officers received it with joy, and crying out, that they would not wait for any other lot, made their way as fast as possible

* They were shields that had been taken out of the temple at Delphi.

† Or the Laymyrias.

through the river, and fell upon the enemy, who, unable to sustain the shock, soon took to flight, throwing away their arms, and leaving a thousand of their men dead upon the spot.

A few days after this, Timoleon marched into the territory of the Leontines, where he took Icetes alive; and his son Eupolemus, and Euthymus, his general of horse, were brought to him bound by the soldiers. Icetes and his son were capitally punished, as tyrants and traitors to their country. Nor did Euthymus find mercy, though remarkably brave and bold in action, because he was accused of a severe sarcasm against the Corinthians. He had said, it seems, in a speech he made to the Leontines, upon the Corinthians taking the field *, “ That it was no ‘formidable matter, if the Corinthian dames were gone ‘out to take the air.’ ” Thus the generality of men are more apt to resent a contemptuous word than an unjust action, and can bear any other injury better than disgrace. Every hostile deed is imputed to the necessity of war, but satirical and censorious expressions are considered as the effects of hatred or malignity.

When Timoleon was returned, the Syracusans brought the wife and daughters of Icetes to a public trial, who, being there condemned to die, were executed accordingly. This seems to be the most exceptionable part of Timoleon’s conduct: for, if he had interposed, the women would not have suffered. But he appears to have connived at it, and given them up to the resentment of the people, who were willing to make some satisfaction to the *manes* of Dion, who expelled Dionysius. For Icetes was the man who threw Arete the wife of Dion, his sister Aristomache, and his son, who was yet a child, alive into the sea; as we have related in the life of Dion †.

* A verse in the Medea of Euripides, quite altered in the sense by the different punctuation. Medea says, there, ver. 24.

Kορδιται γυναικες. εγναδον δομων,
Μη ποι τι μεμφεσθω. — — —

Instead of which Euthymus pronounced it thus:

Kορδιται γυναικες. εγναδον δομων.

† From this passage, and another before, it seems as if the life of Dion was written before this. And yet, in the life of Dion, Plutarch

Timoleon then marched to Catana against Mamercus, who waited for him in order of battle upon the banks of the Abolus *. Mamercus was defeated and put to flight, with the loss of above two thousand men, no small part of which consisted of the Punic succours sent by Gisco. Hereupon, the Carthaginians desired him to grant them peace, which he did on the following conditions: "That they should hold only the lands within the Lycus †; that they should permit all who desired it, to remove out of their province, with their families and goods, and to settle at Syracuse; and that they should renounce all friendship and alliance with the tyrants." Mamercus reduced by this treaty to despair, set sail for Italy, with an intent to bring the Lucanians against Timoleon and the Syracusans. But instead of that, the crews tacking about with the galleys, and returning to Sicily, delivered up Catana to Timoleon; which obliged Mamercus to take refuge at Messina, with Hippo, prince of that city. Timoleon coming upon them, and investing the place both by sea and land, Hippo got on board a ship, and attempted to make his escape, but was taken by the Messenians themselves; who exposed him in the theatre; and calling their children out of the schools, as to the finest spectacle in the world, the punishment of a tyrant, they first scourged him, and then put him to death.

Upon this, Mamercus surrendered himself to Timoleon, agreeing to take his trial at Syracuse, on condition that Timoleon himself would not be his accuser. Being conducted to Syracuse, and brought before the people, he attempted to pronounce an oration which he had composed long before for such an occasion; but being received with noise and clamour, he perceived that the assembly were determined to show him no favour. He, therefore, threw off his upper garment, ran through the theatre, and dashed his head violently against one of the steps, with a design

speaks, as if this was written first. For there, he says, *As it is written in the life of Timoleon.* In one of them, therefore, if not in both, those references must have been made by the librarians according to the different order in which these lives were placed.

* Ptolemy and others call this river *Alabus*, *Alabis*, or *Alaea*. It is near Hybla, between Catana and Syracuse.

† Plutarch probably took the name of this river as he found it in Diodorus; but other historians call it the *Halycus*. Indeed, the Carthaginians might possibly give it the oriental aspirate *ha*, which signifies no more than the particle *the*.

kill himself; but did not succeed according to his wish, for he was taken up alive, and suffered the punishment of thieves and robbers.

In this manner did Timoleon extirpate tyranny, and put a period to their wars. He found the whole island turned almost wild and savage with its misfortunes, so that its very inhabitants could hardly endure it, and yet he so civilized it again, and rendered it so desirable, that strangers came to settle in the country, from which its own people had lately fled; the great cities of Agrigentum and Gela, which, after the Athenian war, had been sacked and left desolate by the Carthaginians, were now peopled again; the former by Megellus and Pheritus from Elea, and the latter by Gorgus from the isle of Ceos, who also collected and brought with him some of the old citizens. Timoleon not only assured them of his protection, and of peaceful days to settle in, after the tempests of such a war, but cordially entered into their necessities, and supplied them with every thing, so that he was even beloved by them as if he had been their founder. Nay, to that degree did he enjoy the affections of the Sicilians in general, that no war seemed concluded, no laws enacted, no lands divided, no political regulation made, in a proper manner, except it was revised and touched by him: he was the master builder who put the last hand to the work, and bestowed upon it a happy elegance and perfection. Though at that time Greece boasted a number of great men, whose achievements were highly distinguished, Timotheus (for instance), Agesilaus, Pelopidas, and Epaminondas, the last of whom Timoleon principally vied with, in the course of glory, yet we may discern in their actions a certain labour and straining, which diminishes their lustre, and some of them have afforded room for censure, and been followed with repentance; whereas there is not one action of Timoleon (if we except the extremities he proceeded to in the case of his brother) to which we may not, with Timeus, apply that passage of Sophocles,

—What *Venus*, or what *Love*,
Plac'd the fair parts in this harmonious whole.

For, as the poetry of Antimachus* and the portraits of

* Antimachus was an epic poet, who flourished in the days of Socrates and Plato. He wrote a poem called the *Thelaid*. Quin-

Dionysius *, both of them Colophonians, with all the nerves and strength one finds in them, appear to be too much laboured, and smell too much of the lamp; whereas the paintings of Nicomachus † and the verses of Homer, beside their other excellencies and graces, seem to have been struck off with readines and ease: so, if we compare the exploits of Epaminondas and Agesilaus, performed with infinite pains and difficulty, with those of Timoleon, which, glorious as they were, had a great deal of freedom and ease in them, when we consider the ease well, we shall conclude the latter, not to have been the work of fortune indeed, but the effects of fortunate virtue.

He himself, it is true, ascribed all his successes to fortune. For when he wrote to his friends at Corinth, or addressed the Syracusans, he often said, he was highly indebted to that goddess, when she was resolved to save Sicily, for doing it under his name. In his house he built a chapel and offered sacrifices to *Chance* ‡, and dedicated the house itself to *Fortune*: for the Syracusans had given him one of the best houses in the city, as a reward of his services, and provided him, besides, a very elegant and agreeable retreat in the country. In the country it was that he spent most of his time, with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth: for he never returned home; he took no part in the troubles of Greece, nor exposed himself to public envy, the rock which great generals commonly split upon in their insatiable pursuits of honour and power, but

tilian (x. 1.) says, he had a force and solidity, together with an elevation of style, and had the second place given him by the grammarians, after Homer; but as he failed in the passions, in the disposition of his fable, and in the ease and elegance of manner, though he was second, he was far from coming near the first.

* Dionysius was a portrait-painter. *Plin. xxxv. 10.*

† Plinty tells us, "Nicomachus painted with a swift as well as "masterly hand; and that his pieces sold for as much as a town was "worth." Arisistratus, the tyrant of Sicyon, having agreed with him for a piece of work which seemed to require a considerable time, Nicomachus did not appear till within a few days of that on which he had agreed to finish it. Hereupon the tyrant talked of punishing him; but in those few days he completed the thing in an admirable manner, and entirely to his satisfaction.

‡ When the ancients ascribed any event to *fortune* they did not mean to deny the operation of the Deity in it, but only to exclude all human contrivance and power. And in events ascribed to *chance*, they might possibly mean to exclude the agency of all rational beings, whether human or divine.

he remained in Sicily, enjoying the blessings he had established; and of which the greatest of all was, to see so many cities and so many thousands of people happy through his means.

But since, according to the comparison of Simonides, every republic must have some impudent slanderer, just as every lark must have a crest on its head, so it was at Syracuse; for Timoleon was attacked by two demagogues, Laphystius and Demænetus. The first of these having demanded of him sureties that he would answer to an indictment which was to be brought against him, the people began to rise, declaring they would not suffer him to proceed. But Timoleon quelled the tumult, by representing, “That he had voluntarily undergone so many labours and dangers, on purpose that the meanest Syracusan might have recourse, when he pleased, to the laws.” And when Demænetus, in full assembly, alleged many articles against his behaviour in command, he did not vouchsafe him any answer; he only said, “He could not sufficiently express his gratitude to the gods, for granting his request, in permitting him to see all the Syracusans enjoy the liberty of saying what they thought fit.”

Having then confessedly performed greater things than any Grecian of his time, and been the only man that realized those glorious achievements, to which the orators of Greece were constantly exhorting their countrymen in the general assemblies of the states, fortune happily placed him at a distance from the calamities in which the mother-country was involved, and kept his hands unstained with its blood. He made his courage and conduct appear in his dealings with the barbarians and with tyrants, as well as his justice and moderation wherever the Greeks or their friends were concerned. Very few of his trophies cost his fellow-citizens a tear, or put any of them in mourning; and yet, in less than eight years, he delivered Sicily from its intestine miseries and distempers, and restored it to the native inhabitants.

After so much prosperity, when he was well advanced in years, his eyes began to fail him, and the defect increased so fast, that he entirely lost his sight. Not that he had done any thing to occasion it, nor was it to be imputed to the caprice of fortune*, but it seems to have been owing to a

* Plutarch here hints at an opinion which was very prevalent among the Pagans, that if any person was signally favoured with

family weakness and disorder, which operated together, with the course of time. For several of his relations are said to have lost their sight in the same manner, having it gradually impaired by years. But Athanis tells us, notwithstanding, that during the war with Hippo and Mamercus, and while he lay before Millet, a white speck appeared on his eye, which was a plain indication that blindness was coming on. However, this did not hinder him from continuing the siege, and prosecuting the war, until he got the tyrants in his power. But, when he was returned to Syracuse, he laid down the command immediately, and excused himself to the people from any farther service, as he had brought their affairs to a happy conclusion.

It is not to be wondered, that he bore his misfortune without repining; but it was really admirable to observe the honour and respect which the Syracusans paid him when blind. They not only visited him constantly themselves, but brought all strangers who spent some time amongst them, to his house in the town, or to that in the country, that they too might have the pleasure of seeing the deliverer of Syracuse. And it was their joy and their pride that he chose to spend his days with them, and despised the splendid reception which Greece was prepared to give him, on account of his great success. Among the many votes that were passed, and things that were done in honour of him, one of the most striking was that decree of the people of Syracuse, “That whenever they should be at war with a foreign nation, they would employ a Corinthian general.” Their method of proceeding, too, in their assemblies, did honour to Timoleon; for they decided smaller matters by themselves, but consulted him in the more difficult and important cases. On these occasions he was conveyed in a litter through the market-place to the theatre; and when he was carried in, the people saluted him with one voice, as he sat. He returned the civility, and having paused awhile to give time for their acclamations, took cognizance of the affair, and delivered his opinion. The assembly gave their sanction to it, and then his servants carried the litter back through the theatre; and the people having waited on him out with loud ap-

success, there would some misfortune happen, to counterbalance it. This they imputed to the envy of some malignant demon.

tauses, dispatched the rest of the public busines without him.

With so much respect and kindness was the old age of Timoleon cherished, as that of a common father! and at last he died of a slight illnes co-operating with length of years *. Some time being given the Syracusans to prepare for his funeral, and for the neighbouring inhabitants and strangers to assemble, the whole was conducted with great magnificence. The bier, sumptuously adorned, was carried by young men selected by the people, over the ground where the palace and castle of the tyrants stood, before they were demolished. It was followed by many thousands of men and women, in the most pompous solemnity, crowned with garlands and clothed in white. The lamentations and tears, mingled with the praises of the deceased, shewed that the honour now paid him was not a matter of course, or compliance with a duty enjoined, but the testimony of real sorrow and sincere affection. At last, the bier being placed upon the funeral pile, Demetrius, who had the loudest voice of all their heralds, was directed to make proclamation, as follows: “ The people of Syracuse inter Timoleon the Corinthian, the son of Timotheus, at the expence of two hundred *mine*: they honour him, moreover, through all time with annual games, to be celebrated with performances in music, horse-racing, and wrestling; as the man who destroyed tyrants, subdued barbarians, repeopled great cities which lay desolate, and restored to the Sicilians their laws and privileges.”

The body was interred, and a monument erected for him in the market-place, which they afterwards surrounded with porticoes and other buildings suitable to the purpose, and then made it a place of exercise for their youth, under the name of *Timoleontum*. They continued to make use of the form of government and the laws that he established, and this ensured their happiness for a long course of years †.

* He died the last year of the hundred and tenth Olympiad, three hundred and thirty-five years before the Christian era.

† This prosperity was interrupted about thirty years after, by the cruelties of Agathocles.

PAULUS AEMILIUS.

WHEN I first applied myself to the writing of these lives, it was for the sake of others, but I pursue that study for my own sake; availing myself of history as of a mirror, from which I learn to adjust and regulate my own conduct. For it is like living and conversing with these illustrious men, when I invite, as it were, and receive them, one after another, under my roof; when I consider *how great and wonderful they were* *, and select from their actions the most memorable and glorious.

Ye gods! what greater pleasure?
What HAPPIER ROAD TO VIRTUE?

Democritus has a position in his philosophy †, utterly false indeed, and leading to endless superstitions, that there are phantasms, or images, continually floating in the air, some propitious, and some unlucky, and advises us to pray, that such may strike upon our senes, as are agreeable to and perfective of our nature, and not such as have a tendency to vice and error. For my part, instead of this, I fill my mind with the sublime images of the best and greatest men, by attention to history and biography; and if I contract any blemish or ill custom from other company which I am unavoidably engaged in, I correct and expel them, by calmly and dispassionately turning my thoughts to these excellent examples. For the same purpose, I now put in your hands the life of Timoleon the Corinthian, and that of Aemilius Paulus, men famous not only for their virtues, but their success; insomuch that they have left room to doubt, whether their great achievements were not more owing to their good fortune than their prudence.

Most writers agree, that the Aemilian family was one of the most ancient among the Roman nobility: and it is

* *ἴερος εννοίος το—* —— *Hom. Il. xxiv. ver. 629.*

† Democritus held that visible objects produced their image in the ambient air, which image produced a second, and the second a third still less than the former, and so on till the last produced its counterpart in the eye. This he supposed the process of the act of vision. But he went on to what is infinitely more absurd. He maintained that thought was formed, according as those images struck upon the imagination; that of these there were some good and some evil; that the good produced virtuous thoughts in us, and the evil the contrary.

asserted, that the founder of it, who also left it his surname, was Mamercus* the son of Pythagoras the philosopher†, who, for the peculiar charms and gracefulness of his elocution was called Aemilius; such, at least, is the opinion of those who say that Numa was educated under Pythagoras.

Those of this family that distinguished them ~~lives~~ ‡, found their attachment to virtue generally blessed with success. And notwithstanding the ill fortune of Lucius Paulus at Cannæ, he showed on that occasion both his prudence and his valour. For, when he could not dissuade his colleague from fighting, he joined him in the combat, though much against his will, but did not partake with him in his flight: on the contrary, when he who plunged them in the danger, deserted the field, Paulus stood his ground, and fell bravely amidst the enemy, with his sword in his hand.

This Paulus had a daughter named Aemilia, who was married to Scipio the Great, and a son called Paulus, whose history I am now writing.

At the time he made his appearance in the world, Rome abounded in men who were celebrated for their virtues and other excellent accomplishments ||; and even among these Aemilius made a distinguished figure, without pursuing the same studies, or setting out in the same track, with the young nobility of that age. For he did not exercise himself in pleading causes, nor could he stoop to salute, to solicit and care for the people, which was the method that most men took who aimed at popularity. Not but that he had talents from nature to acquit himself well in either of these respects, but he reckoned the honour that flows from valour, from justice and probity, preferable to both; and in these virtues he soon surpassed all the young men of his time.

The first of the great offices of state for which he was a candidate, was that of *edile*, and he carried it against twelve competitors, who, we are told, were all afterwards

* See the life of Numa.

† He is called Pythagoras the philosopher, to distinguish him from Pythagoras the famed wrestler.

‡ From Lucius Aemilius, who was consul in the year of Rome two hundred and seventy, and overcame the Volscians, to Lucius Paulus, who was father to Paulus Aemilius, and who fell at Cannæ, in the year of Rome five hundred and thirty-seven: there were many of those Aemilii renowned for their victories and triumphs.

|| In that period we find the Sempronii, the Atilii, the Fabii Maximi, the Marcelli, the Scipio-, the Fulvii, Sulpitii, Cethegi, Metelli; and other great and excellent men.

confuls. And when he was appointed one of the *augurs*, whom the Romans employ in the inspection and care of divination by the flight of birds, and by prodigies in the air, he studied so attentively the usages of his country, and acquainted himself so perfectly with the ancient ceremonies of religion, that what before was only considered as an honour, and sought for on account of the authority annexed to it *, appeared in his hands to be one of the principal arts. Thus he confirmed the definition which is given by some philosophers, *That religion is the science of worshipping the gods.* He did every thing with skill and application; he laid aside all other concerns while he attended to this, and made not the least omission or innovation, but disputed with his colleagues about the smallest article, and insisted, that though the Deity might be supposed to be merciful, and willing to overlook some neglect, yet it was dangerous for the State to connive at and pass by such things. *For no man ever began his attempts against government with an enormous crime; and the relaxing in the smallest matters, breaks down the fences of the greatest.*

Nor was he less exact in requiring and observing the Roman military discipline. He did not study to be popular in command, nor endeavour, like the generality, to make one commission the foundation for another, by humouring and indulging the soldiery †: but as a priest instructs the initiated with care in the sacred ceremonies, so he explained to those that were under him the rules and customs of war; and being inexorable at the same time, to those that transgressed them, he re-established his country in its former glory. Indeed, with him, the beating of an enemy was a matter of much less account, than the bringing of his countrymen to strict discipline; the one seeming to be the necessary consequence of the other.

During the war which the Romans were engaged in with Antiochus the Great ‡, in the east, and || in which their

* Under pretence that the auspices were favourable or otherwise, the *augurs* had it in their power to promote or put a stop to any public affair whatever.

† The Roman soldiers were, at the same time, citizens, who had votes for the great employments, both civil and military.

‡ The war with Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, began about the year of Rome five hundred and sixty-one, twenty-four years after the battle of Cannæ.

|| The Consul Glabrio, and after him the two Scipios; the elder of whom was content to serve as lieutenant under his brother.

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most experienced officers were employed; another broke out in the west. There was a general revolt in Spain*; and thither Aemilius was sent, not with six *littors* only, like other *prætors*, but with twice the number; which seemed to raise his dignity to an equality with the consular. He beat the barbarians in two pitched battles†, and killed thirty thousand of them: which success appears to have been owing to his generalship in choosing his ground, and attacking the enemy while they were passing a river; for by these means his army gained an easy victory. He made himself master of two hundred and fifty cities, which voluntarily opened their gates: and having established peace throughout the province, and secured its allegiance, he returned to Rome, not a *drachma* richer than he went out. He never indeed was desirous to enrich himself, but lived in a generous manner on his own estate, which was so far from being large, that after his death, it was hardly sufficient to answer his wife's dowry.

His first wife was Papiria, the daughter of Papirius Maso, a man of consular dignity. After he had lived with her a long time in wedlock he divorced her, though she had brought him very fine children: for she was mother to the illustrious Scipio and to Fabius Maximus. History does not acquaint us with the reason of this separation; but with respect to divorces in general, the account which a certain Roman, who put away his wife, gave of his own case, seems to be a just one. When his friends remonstrated, and asked him, *Was she not chaste? Was she not fair? Was she not fruitful? Was she not new? yet none knows where it wrings him, but he that wears it.* Certain it is, that men usually repudiate their wives for great and visible faults; yet sometimes also a peevishness of temper or incompliance of manners, small and frequent distastes, though not discerned by the world, produce the most incurable aversions in a married life‡.

* Spain had been reduced by Scipio Nasica.

† Livy, xx. vii. 57. speaks only of one battle, in which Paulus Aemilius forced the intrenchments of the Spaniards, killed eighteen thousand of them, and made three hundred prisoners.

‡ The very ingenious Dr. Robertson mentions this frequency of divorces as one of the necessary reasons for introducing the Christian religion at that period of time when it was published to the world. "Divorces," says he, "on very slight pretences were permitted both by the Greek and Roman legislators. And though the pure manners of those republics restrained for some time the operation of such

Æmilius, thus separated from Papiria, married a second wife, by whom he had also two sons. These he brought up in his own house; the sons of Papiria being adopted into the greatest and most noble families in Rome, the elder by Fabius Maximus, who was five times consul, and the younger by his cousin-german, the son of Scipio Africanus, who gave him the name of Scipio. One of his daughters was married to the son of Cato, and the other to Ælius Tubero, a man of superior integrity, and who, of all the Romans, knew best how to bear poverty. There were no less than sixteen of the Ælian family and name, who had only a small house, and one farm amongst them; and in this house they all lived with their wives and many children. Here dwelt the daughter of Æmilius, who had been twice consul, and had triumphed twice, not ashamed of her husband's poverty, but admiring that virtue which kept him poor. Very different is the behaviour of brothers and other near relations in these days; who, if their possessions be not separated by extensive countries, or at least rivers and bulwarks, are perpetually at variance about them. So much instruction does history suggest to the consideration of those who are willing to profit by it.

When Æmilius was created consul*, he went upon an expedition against the Ligurians, whose country lies at the foot of the Alps, and who are also called Ligustines: a bold and martial people that learnt the art of war of the Romans,

“ a pernicious institution; though the virtue of private persons seldom abused the indulgence that the legislator allowed them, yet no sooner had the establishment of arbitrary power and the progress of luxury vitiated the taste of men, than the law with regard to divorces was found to be amongst the worst corruptions that prevailed in that abandoned age. The facility of separations rendered married persons careless of practising or obtaining those virtues which render domestic life easy and delightful. The education of their children, as the parents were not mutually endeared or inseparably connected, was generally disregarded, as each parent considered it but a partial care, which might with equal justice devolve on the other. Marriage, instead of restraining, added to the violence of irregular desire, and under a legal title became the vilest, and most shameless prostitution. From all these causes the marriage state fell into disreputation and contempt, and it became necessary to force men by penal laws into a society where they expected no secure or lasting happiness. Among the Romans domestic corruption grew of a sudden to an incredible height. And perhaps in the history of mankind we can find no parallel to the undisguised impurity and licentiousness of that age. It was in good time therefore, &c. &c.

* It was the year following that he went against the Ligurians.

by means of their vicinity. For they dwelt in the extremities of Italy, bordering upon that part of the Alps which is washed by the Tuscan sea, just opposite to Africa, and were mixed with the Gauls and Spaniards who inhabited the coast. At that time they had likewise some strength at sea, and their corsairs plundered and destroyed the merchant-ships as far as the Pillars of Hercules. They had an army of forty thousand men to receive Æmilius, who came but with eight thousand at the most. He engaged them, however, though five times his number, routed them entirely, and shut them up within their walled towns. When they were in these circumstances, he offered them reasonable and moderate terms. For the Romans did not choose utterly to cut off the people of Liguria, whom they considered as a bulwark against the Gauls, who were always hovering over Italy. The Ligurians, confiding in Æmilius, delivered up their ships and their towns. He only razed the fortifications, and then delivered the cities to them again; but he carried off their shipping, leaving them not a vessel bigger than those with three banks of oars; and he set at liberty a number of prisoners whom they had made both at sea and land, as well Romans as strangers.

Such were the memorable actions of his first consulship. After which he often expressed his desire of being appointed again to the same high office, and even stood candidate for it; but, meeting with a repulse, he solicited it no more. Instead of that he applied himself to the discharge of his function as *augur*, and to the education of his sons, not only in such arts as had been taught in Rome, and those that he had learnt himself, but also in the gentler arts of Greece. To this purpose he not only entertained masters who could teach them grammar, logic, and rhetoric, but sculpture also and painting, together with such as were skilled in breaking and teaching horses and dogs, and were to instruct them in riding and hunting. When no public affairs hindered him, he himself always attended their studies and exercises. In short, he was the most indulgent parent in Rome.

As to public affairs, the Romans were then engaged in a war with Perseus*, king of the Macedonians, and they

* This second Macedonian war with Perseus began in the year of Rome five hundred and eighty-two, a hundred and sixty-nine years before the Christian era.

imputed it either to the incapacity or cowardice of their generals*, that the advantage was on the enemy's side. For they who had forced Antiochus the Great to quit the rest of Asia †, driven him beyond Mount Taurus, confined him to Syria, and made him think himself happy if he could purchase his peace with fifteen thousand talents ‡; they who had lately vanquished king Philip in Thessaly ||, and delivered the Greeks from the Macedonian yoke; in short, they who had subdued Hannibal, to whom no king could be compared either for valour or power, thought it an intolerable thing to be obliged to contend with Perseus upon equal terms, as if he could be an adversary able to cope with them, who only brought into the field the poor remains of his father's routed forces. In this, however, the Romans were deceived; for they knew not that Philip, after his defeat, had raised a much more numerous and better disciplined army than he had before. It may not be amiss to explain this in a few words, beginning at the fountain head. Antigonus §, the most powerful among the generals and successors of Alexander, having gained for himself and his descendants the title of king, had a son named Demetrius, who was father to Antigonus, surnamed Gonatus. Gonatus had a son named Demetrius, who, after a short reign, left a young son called Philip. The Macedonian nobility dreading the confusion, often consequent upon a minority, set up Antigonus, cousin to the deceased king, and gave him his widow, the mother of Philip, to wife. At first they made him only regent and general, but afterwards finding that he was a moderate and public-spirited man, they declared him king. He it was that had the name of

* Those generals were P. Licinius Crassus, after him A. Hostilius Mancinus, and then Q. Martius Philippus, who dragged the war heavily on during the three years of their consulship.

† Seventeen years before.

‡ Livy says twelve thousand, which were to be paid in twelve years, by a thousand talents a year.

|| This service was performed by Quintius Flaminius, who defeated Philip in Thessaly, killed eight thousand of his men upon the spot, took five thousand prisoners, and after his victory caused proclamation to be made by an herald at the Isthmean games, that Greece was free.

§ This Antigonus killed Eumenes, and took Babylon from Seleucus; and when his son Demetrius had overthrown Ptolemy's fleet at Cyprus, he, the first of all Alexander's successors, presumed to wear a diadem, and assumed the title of king.

*Dafon**, because he was always promising but never performed what he promised. After him, Philip mounted the throne, and, though yet but a youth, soon shewed himself equal to the greatest of kings, so that it was believed he would restore the crown of Macedon to its ancient dignity, and be the only man that could stop the progress of the Roman power, which was now extending itself over all the world. But being beaten at Scotusa by Titus Flaminius, his courage sunk for the present, and promising to receive such terms as the Romans should impose, he was glad to come off with a moderate fine. But recollecting himself afterwards, he could not brook the dishonour. To reign by the courtesy of the Romans, appeared to him more suitable to a slave, who minds nothing but his pleasures, than to a man who has any dignity of sentiment, and therefore he turned his thoughts to war, but made his preparations with great privacy and caution. For suffering the towns that were near the great roads and by the sea, to run to decay, and to become half desolate, in order that he might be held in contempt by the enemy, he collected a great force in the higher provinces; and filling the inland places, the towns, and castles, with arms, money, and men, fit for service, without making any show of war, he had his troops always in readiness for it, like so many wrestlers trained and exercised in secret. For he had in his arsenal arms for thirty thousand men, in his garrisons eight millions of measures of wheat, and money in his coffers to defray the charge of maintaining ten thousand mercenaries for ten years, to defend his country. But he had not the satisfaction of putting these designs in execution; for he died of grief and a broken heart, on discovering that he had unjustly put Demetrius, his more worthy son, to death†, in consequence of an accusation preferred by his other son, Perseus.

Perseus, who survived him, inherited together with the crown, his father's enmity to the Romans; but he was not equal to such a burden, on account of the littleness of his capacity and the meanness of his manners; avarice being the principal of the many passions that reigned in his ill-tempered heart. It is even said, that he was not the son of Philip, but that the wife of that prince took him, as soon

* *Dafon* signifies *will-give*.

† This story is finely embellished in Dr. Young's tragedy of *The Brothers*.

as he was born, from his mother, who was a sempitress of Argos, named Gnathænia, and passed him upon her husband as her own. And the chief reason of his compassing the death of his brother seemed to have been his fear that the royal house, having a lawful heir, might prove him to be supposititious. But though he was of such an abject and ungenerous disposition, yet elated with the prosperous situation of his affairs, he engaged in war with the Romans, and maintained the conflict a long while, repulsing several of their fleets and armies, commanded by men of consular dignity, and even beating some of them. Publius Licinius was the first that invaded Macedonia, and him he defeated in an engagement of the cavalry*, killed two thousand five hundred of his best men, and took six hundred prisoners. He surprised the Roman fleet which lay at anchor at Orneum, took twenty of their store-ships, sunk the rest that were loaded with wheat, and made himself master, besides, of four galleys which had each five benches of oars. He fought also another battle, by which he drove back the consul Hostilius, who was attempting to enter his kingdom by Elimia; and when the same general was stealing in by the way of Thessaly, he presented himself before him, but the Roman did not choose to stand the encounter. And as if this war did not sufficiently employ him, or the Romans alone were not an enemy respectable enough, he went upon an expedition against the Dardanians, in which he cut in pieces ten thousand of them, and brought off much booty. At the same time, he privately solicited the Gauls, who dwell near the Danube, and who are called Bastarnæ.—These were a warlike people, and strong in cavalry. He tried the Illyrians too, hoping to bring them to join him by means of Gentius their king; and it was reported that the barbarians had taken his money, under promise of making an inroad into Italy, by the lower Gaul, along the coast of the Adriatic†.

* Livy has given us a description of this action at the end of his forty-second book. Perseus offered peace to those he had beaten upon as easy conditions as if he himself had been overthrown, but the Romans refused it: They made it a rule, indeed, never to make peace when beaten. The rule proved a wise one for that people, but can never be universally adopted.

† He practised also with Eumenes king of Bithynia, and caused representations to be made to Antiochus king of Syria, that the Romans were equally enemies to all kings: But Eumenes demanding fifteen

When this news was brought to Rome, the people thought proper to lay aside all regard to interest and solicitation in the choice of their generals, and to call to the command a man of understanding, fit for the direction of great affairs. Such was Paulus Aemilius, a man advanced in years indeed (for he was about threescore), but still in his full strength, and surrounded with young sons and sons-in-law, and a number of other considerable relations and friends, who all persuaded him to listen to the people, that called him to the consulship. At first he received the offer of the citizens very coldly, though they went so far as to court and even to entreat him; for he was now no longer ambitious of that honour: But as they daily attended at his gate, and loudly called upon him to make his appearance in the *forum*, he was at length prevailed upon. When he put himself among the candidates, he looked not like a man who sued for the consulship, but as one who brought success along with him: And when, at the request of the citizens, he went down into the *Campus Martius*, they all received him with so entire a confidence and such a cordial regard, that upon their creating him consul the second time, they would not suffer the lots to be cast for the provinces*, as usual, but voted him immediately the direction of the war in Macedonia. It is said, that after the people had appointed him commander in chief against Perseus, and conducted him home in a very splendid manner, he found his daughter Tertia, who was yet but a child, in tears. Upon this he took her in his arms, and asked her "Why she wept?" The girl embracing and kissing him, said, "Know you not then, father, that Perseus is dead?" meaning a little dog of that name, which she had brought up. To which Aemilius replied, "It is a lucky incident, child, I accept the omen." This particular is related by Cicero in his Treatise on *Divination*.

It was the custom for those that were appointed to the consulship, to make their acknowledgments to the people in an agreeable speech from the *rostrum*; Aemilius having assembled the citizens on this occasion, told them, "He had applied for his former consulship, because he wanted

hundred talents, a stop was put to the negotiation. The very treat-
ing, however, with Perseus, occasioned an inveterate hatred be-
tween the Romans and their old friend Eumenes; but that hatred
was of no service to Perseus.

* Livy says the contrary.

“ a command ; but in this, they had applied to him, be-
“ cause they wanted a commander : And therefore, at
“ present, he did not hold himself obliged to them. If
“ they could have the war better directed by another, he
“ would readily quit the employment ; but if they placed
“ their confidence in him, he expected they would not in-
“ terfere with his orders, or propagate idle reports, but
“ provide in silence what was necessary for the war : For,
“ if they wanted to command their commanders, their ex-
“ peditions would be more ridiculous than ever.” It is
not easy to express how much reverence this speech pro-
cured him from the citizens, and what high expectations
it produced of the event. They rejoiced that they had
passed by the smooth tongued candidates, and made choice
of a general who had so much freedom of speech and such
dignity of manner. Thus the Romans submitted, like
servants, to reason and virtue, in order that they might
one day rule, and become masters of the world.

That Paulus \mathbb{A} Emilius, when he went upon the Macedonian expedition, had a prosperous voyage and journey, and arrived with speed and safety in the camp, I impute to his good fortune; but when I consider how the war was conducted, and see that the greatness of his courage, the excellency of his counsels, the attachment of his friends, his presence of mind and happiness in expedients in times of danger, all contributed to his success, I cannot place his great and distinguished actions to any account but his own. Indeed, the avarice of Perseus may possibly be looked upon as a fortunate circumstance for \mathbb{A} Emilius; since it blasted and ruined the great preparations and elevated hopes of the Macedonians, by a mean regard to money. For the Bastarnæ came, at his request, with a body of ten thousand horse*, each of which had a foot soldier by his side, and they all fought for hire; men they were that knew not how to till the ground, to feed cattle, or to navigate ships, but

* Livy (xliiv. 26.) has well described this horseman and his foot soldier. He says, "There came ten thousand horse, and as many foot, who kept pace with the horse, and when any of the cavalry were unhorsed, they mounted, and went into the ranks." They were the same people with those described by Cæsar in the first book of his Commentaries, where he is giving an account of Ariovistus's army. As soon as Perseus had intelligence of the approach of the Bastarnæ, he sent Antigonus to congratulate Clodius their king. Clodius made answer, that the Gauls could not march a step farther without money; which Perseus in his avarice and ill policy refused to advance.

whose sole profession and employment was to fight and to conquer. When these pitched their tents in Medica, and mingled with the king's forces, who beheld them tall in their persons, ready beyond expression at their exercises, lofty and full of menaces against the enemy, the Macedonians were inspired with fresh courage, and a strong opinion, that the Romans would not be able to stand against these mercenaries, but be terrified both at their looks and at their strange and astonishing motions.

After Perseus had filled his people with such spirits and hopes, the barbarians demanded of him a thousand pieces of gold for every officer; but the thoughts of parting with such a sum almost turned his brain, and in the narrowness of his heart he refused it, and broke off the alliance; as if he had not been at war with the Romans, but a steward for them, who was to give an exact account of his whole expences to those whom he was acting against. At the same time*

* We agree with the editor of the former English translation, that the original here is extremely corrupted and very difficult to be restored; and that it seems improbable that the Romans should have an army of a hundred thousand men in Macedonia. But the improbability lessens, if we consider that Paulus Aemilius applied on this occasion to the allies, especially the Achaeans, for what forces they could spare, and if we take in those that acted on board the Roman fleet. Aemilius, indeed, just before the battle, expresses his apprehensions from the enemy's superiority of numbers; and it is true that he had none to depend upon but the Romans, who were comparatively few. As for his Grecian allies, he could not place much confidence in them, because it was their interest that the kingdom of Macedon should stand; and in fact, when that fell, severe tribunals were set up in Greece, and the shadow of liberty, which remained to it, was lost.

That translation, however, has given a turn to the passage quite different from the sense that may be gathered from the Greek and the whole context. It runs thus—*For though he had made such vast preparations, though he had money in the treasury sufficient to pay a hundred thousand men, &c.* How does this give any idea of the Romans being instructors, [εἰδοκτατοι] to Perseus in point of expence?

The Greek, in Bryan's edition, is *καὶ διδοκατεῖς εἰχεν εκεῖνοις; οἱ αὖτε προστάντες, ταῦτα προμαχοῦσσιν ποιούσιν καὶ παρεπομένοις ταῖς χρείαις.*

An anonymous manuscript copy has it thus—*οἱ αὖτε ταῖς παρεπομένοις, ταῦτα προμαχοῦσσιν, &c.*

But *αὖτε* is a bad alteration, because it implies that such immense forces were collected without any stores or provisions for them; and the word *ταῦτα* we have put in brackets, because it has nothing to do there. If the correction was made by some librarian, probably he thought the word *αὖτε* signifies *besides*, whereas it signifies only *without*.

the example of the enemy pointed out to him better things; for, besides their other preparations, they had an hundred thousand men collected and ready for their use; and yet he having to oppose so considerable a force, and an armament that was maintained at such an extraordinary expence, counted his gold and sealed his bags, as much afraid to touch them as if they had belonged to another. And yet he was not descended from any Lydian or Phœnician merchant, but allied to Alexander and Philip, whose maxim it was *to procure empire with money, and not money by empire*, and who, by pursuing that maxim, conquered the world. For it was a common saying, “That it was not Philip, “ but Philip’s gold that took the cities of Greece.” As for Alexander, when he went upon the Indian expedition, and saw the Macedonians dragging after them a heavy and unwieldy load of Persian wealth, he first set fire to the royal carriages, and then persuaded the rest to do the same to theirs that they might move forward to the war, light and unencumbered: Whereas Perseus, though he and his children and his kingdom overflowed with wealth, would not purchase his preservation at the expence of a small part of it, but was carried a wealthy captive to Rome, and showed that people what immense sums he had saved and laid up for them.

Nay, he not only deceived and sent away the Gauls, but also imposed upon Gentius king of the Illyrians, whom he prevailed with to join him, in consideration of a subsidy of three hundred talents. He went so far as to order the money to be counted before that prince’s envoys, and suffered them to put their seal upon it. Gentius, thinking his demands were answered, in violation of all the laws of honour and justice, seized and imprisoned the Roman ambassadors who were at his court. Perseus now concluded that there was no need of money to draw his ally into the war, since he had unavoidably plunged himself into it, by an open instance of violence, and an act of hostility which would admit of no excuse, and therefore he defrauded the unhappy man of the three hundred talents, and without the least concern beheld him, his wife, and children, in a short time after, dragged from their kingdom, by the prætor Lucius Anicius, who was sent at the head of an army against Gentius.

Æmilius, having to do with such an adversary as Perseus, despised, indeed, the man, yet cou’d not but admire his preparations and his strength. For he had four thousand

horse, and near forty thousand foot who composed the *phalanx*: and being encamped by the sea-side, at the foot of Mount Olympus, in a place that was perfectly inaccessible, and strengthened on every side with fortifications of wood, he lay free from all apprehensions, persuaded that he should wear out the consul by protracting the time and exhausting his treasures. But Æmilius, always vigilant and attentive, weighed every expedient and method of attack; and perceiving that the soldiers, through the want of discipline in time past, were impatient of delay, and ready to dictate to their general things impossible to be executed, he reproved them with great severity, ordering them not to intermeddle, or give attention to any thing but their own persons and their arms, that they might be in readiness to use their swords as became Romans, when their commander should give them an opportunity. He ordered also the sentinels to keep watch without their pikes *, that they might guard the better against sleep, when they were sensible that they had nothing to defend themselves with against the enemy, who might attack them in the night.

But his men complained the most of want of water; for only a little, and that but indifferent, flowed, or rather came drop by drop, from some springs near the sea. In this extremity, Æmilius, seeing Mount Olympus before him, very high and covered with trees, conjectured from their verdure, that there must be springs in it which would discharge themselves at the bottom, and therefore caused several pits and wells to be dug at the foot of it. These were soon filled with clear water, which ran into them with the greater force and rapidity, because it had been confined before.

Some, however, deny, that there are any hidden sources constantly provided with water in the places from which it flows; nor will they allow the discharge to be owing to the opening of a vein; but they will have it, that the water is formed instantaneously, from the condensation of vapours, and that by the coldness and pressure of the earth a moist vapour is rendered fluid. For, as the breasts of women are not, like vessels, stored with milk always ready to flow, but prepare and change the nutriment that is in

* Livy says, *without their shields*, the reason of which was this, the Roman shields being long, they might rest their heads upon them, and sleep standing. Æmilius, however, made one order in favour of the soldiers upon guard; for he ordered them to be relieved at noon, whereas before they used to be upon duty all day.

them into milk ; so the cold and springy places of the ground, have not a quantity of water hid within them, which, as from reservoirs always full, can be sufficient to supply large streams and rivers ; but by compressing and condensing the vapours and the air, they convert them into water. And such places being opened, afford that element freely, just as the breasts of women do milk from their being sucked, by compressing and liquefying the vapour ; whereas the earth that remains idle and undug, cannot produce any water, because it wants that motion which alone is the true cause of it.

But those that teach this doctrine, give occasion to the sceptical to observe, that by parity of reason there is no blood in animals, but that the wound produces it, by a change in the flesh and spirits, which that impression renders fluid. Besides, that doctrine is refuted by those who digging deep in the earth to undermine some fortification, or to search for metals, meet with deep rivers, not collected by little and little, which would be the case, if they were produced at the instant the earth was opened, but rushing upon them at once in great abundance. And it often happens upon the breaking of a great rock, that a quantity of water issues out, which as suddenly ceases. So much for springs.

Æmilius sat still for some days, and it is said that there never were two great armies so near each other, that remained so quiet. But trying and considering every thing, he got information that there was one way only left unguarded, which lay through Perrhaibia, by Pythium and Petra ; and conceiving greater hope from the defenceless condition of the place, than fear from its rugged and difficult appearance, he ordered the matter to be considered in council.

Scipio, surnamed Nasica, son-in-law to Scipio Africanus, who afterwards was a leading man in the senate, was the first that offered to head the troops in taking this circuit to come at the enemy. And after him Fabius Maximus, the eldest son of Æmilius, though he was yet but a youth, expressed his readiness to undertake the enterprise. Æmilius, delighted with this circumstance, gave them a detachment not so large indeed as Polybius gives account of, but the number that Nasica mentions in a short letter wherein he describes this action to a certain king. They had three thousand Italians, who were not Romans, and five thousand

men besides, who composed the left wing. To these Nasica added a hundred and twenty horse, and two hundred Thracians and Cretans intermixed, who were of the troops of Harpalus.

With this detachment he began to march towards the sea, and encamped at Heracleum*, as if he intended to sail round, and come upon the enemy's camp behind; but when his soldiers had supped, and night came on, he explained to the officers his real design, and directed them to take a different route. Pursuing this, without loss of time, he arrived at Pythium, where he ordered his men to take some rest. At this place Olympus is ten furlongs and ninety-six feet in height, as it is signified in the inscription made by Xenagoras the son of Eumelus, the man that measured it. The geometricians, indeed, affirm, that there is no mountain in the world more than ten furlongs high, nor sea above that depth, yet it appears that Xenagoras did not take the height in a careless manner, but regularly and with proper instruments.

Nasica passed the night there. Perseus, for his part, seeing Aemilius lie quiet in his camp, had not the least thought of the danger that threatened him; but a Cretan deserter who flipt from Scipio by the way, came and informed him of the circuit the Romans were taking in order to surprise him. This news put him in great confusion, yet he did not remove his camp; he only sent ten thousand foreign mercenaries and two thousand Macedonians under Milo, with orders to possess themselves of the heights with all possible expedition. Polybius relates, that the Romans fell upon them while they were asleep, but Nasica tells us there was a sharp and dangerous conflict for the heights; that he himself killed a Thracian mercenary who engaged him, by piercing him through the breast with his spear; and that the enemy being routed, and Milo put to a shameful flight without his arms, and in his under garment only, he pursued them without any sort of hazard, and led his party down into the plain. Perseus terrified at this disaster, and disappointed in his hopes, decamped and retired. Yet he was under a necessity of stopping before Pydna, and risking

* The consul gave out that they were to go on board the fleet, which under the command of Octavius the prætor lay upon the coast, in order to waste the maritime parts of Macedonia, and so to draw Perseus from his camp.

a battle, if he did not choose to divide his army to garrison his towns *, and there expect the enemy, who, when once entered into his country, could not be driven out without great slaughter and bloodshed.

His friends represented to him, that his army was still superior in numbers, and that they would fight with great resolution in defence of their wives and children, and in fight of their king, who was a partner in their danger. Encouraged by this representation, he fixed his camp there; he prepared for battle, viewed the country, and assigned each officer his post, as intending to meet the Romans when they came off their march. The field where he encamped was fit for the *phalanx*, which required plain and even ground to act in; near it was a chain of little hills, proper for the light-armed to retreat to, and to wheel about from to the attack; and through the middle ran the rivers *Æson* and *Léucus*, which, though not very deep, because it was the latter end of summer, were likely to give the Romans some trouble.

Æmilius having joined Nasica, marched in good order against the enemy. But when he saw the disposition and number of their forces, he was astonished, and stood still to consider what was proper to be done. Hereupon the young officers eager for the engagement, and particularly Nasica, flushed with his success at Mount Olympus, pressed up to him, and begged of him to lead them forward without delay. Æmilius only smiled and said, “ My friend, “ if I was of your age, I should certainly do so: but the “ many victories I have gained, have made me observe “ the errors of the vanquished, and forbid me to give “ battle immediately after a march, to an army well “ drawn up, and every way prepared.”

Then he ordered the foremost ranks, who were in sight of the enemy, to present a front, as if they were ready to engage, and the rear in the mean time, to mark out a camp and throw up intrenchments; after which, he made the battalions wheel off by degrees, beginning with those next the soldiers at work, so that their disposition was

* His best friends advised him to garrison his strongest cities with his best troops, and to lengthen out the war, experience having shewn that the Macedonians were better able to defend cities, than the Romans were to take them; but this opinion the king rejected from this cowardly principle, that perhaps the town he chose for his residence might be first besieged.

insensibly changed, and his whole army encamped without noise.

When they had supped, and were thinking of nothing but going to rest, on a sudden the moon, which was then at full, and very high, began to be darkened, and, after changing into various colours, was at last totally eclipsed *. The Romans, according to their custom, made a great noise by striking upon vessels of brass, and held up lighted faggots and torches in the air, in order to recall her light; but the Macedonians did no such thing; horror and astonishment seized their whole camp, and a whisper passed among the multitude, that this appearance portended the fall of the king. As for Aemilius, he was not entirely unacquainted with this matter; he had heard of the ecliptic inequalities which bring the moon, at certain periods, under the shadow of the earth, and darken her, till she has past that quarter of obscurity, and receives light from the sun again. Nevertheless, as he was wont to ascribe most events to the Deity, was a religious observer of sacrifices and of the art of divination, he offered up to the moon eleven heifers, as soon as he saw her regain her former lustre. At break of day, he also sacrificed oxen to Hercules, to the number of twenty, without any auspicious sign; but in the twenty-first the desired tokens appeared, and he announced victory to his troops, provided they stood upon the defensive. At the same time he vowed a hecatomb and solemn games in honour of that god, and then commanded the officers to put the army in order of battle; staying, however, till the sun should decline, and get round to the west, lest, if they came to action in the morning, it should dazzle the eyes of

* Livy tells us, that Sulpitius Gallus, one of the Roman tribunes, foretold this eclipse: first to the consul, and then with his leave to the army, whereby that terror which eclipses were wont to breed in ignorant minds, was entirely taken off, and the soldiers more and more disposed to confide in officers of so great wisdom, and of such general knowledge.

† Here we see Aemilius availed himself of augury, to bring his troops the more readily to comply with what he knew was most prudent. — He was sensible of their eagerness and impetuosity, but he was sensible at the same time that coolness and calm valour were more necessary to be exerted against the Macedonian phalanx, which was not inferior in courage and discipline to the Romans, and therefore he told them, that the gods enjoined them to stand upon the defensive, if they desired to be victorious. Another reason why Aemilius deferred the fight was, as Plutarch tells us, because the morning sun was full in the eyes of his soldiers.

his soldiers, he sat down in the mean time in his tent, which was open towards the field and the enemy's camp.

Some say, that towards evening, he availed himself of an artifice, to make the enemy begin the fight. It seems he turned a horse loose without a bridle, and sent out some Romans to catch him, who were attacked while they were pursuing him, and so the engagement began. Others say, that the Thracians, commanded by one Alexander, attacked a Roman convoy; that seven hundred Ligurians making up to its assistance, a sharp skirmish ensued; and that larger reinforcements being sent to both parties, at last the main bodies were engaged. Æmilius, like a wise pilot foreseeing, by the agitation of both armies, the violence of the impending storm, came out of his tent, passed through the ranks, and encouraged his men. In the mean time, Nasica, who had rode up to the place where the skirmish began, saw the whole of the enemy's army advancing to the charge.

First of all marched the Thracians, whose very aspect struck the beholders with terror. They were men of a prodigious size; their shields were white and glistering; their vests were black, their legs armed with greaves; and as they moved, their long pikes, heavy-shod with iron, shook on their right shoulders. Next came the mercenaries, variously armed, according to the manner of their respective countries: with these were mixed the Pæonians. In the third place moved forward the battalions of Macedon, the flower of its youth and the bravest of its sons: their new purple vests and gilded arms, made a splendid appearance. As these took their post, the *Chalcopides* moved out of the camp; the fields gleamed with the polished steel and the brazen shields which they bore, and the mountains re-echoed to their cheers. In this order they advanced, and that with so much boldness and speed, that the first of their slain * fell only two furlongs from the Roman camp.

As soon as the attack was begun, Æmilius advanced to the first ranks, found that the foremost of the Macedonians had struck the heads of their pikes into the shields of the Romans, so that it was impossible for his men to reach their adversaries with their swords. And when he saw the rest of the Macedonians take their bucklers from their shoulders, join them close together and with one motion present their pikes against his legions, the strength of such a rampart, and the formidable appearance of such a front struck him with terror.

* The light-armed.

ind amazement. He never, indeed, saw a more dreadful spectacle, and he often mentioned afterwards the impression it made upon him. However, he took care to show a pleasant and cheerful countenance to his men, and even rode about without either helmet or breast-plate. But the king of Macedon, as Polybius tells us, as soon as the engagement was begun, gave way to his fears, and withdrew into the town, under pretence of sacrificing to Hercules ; a god that accepts not the timid offerings of cowards, nor favours any unjust vows. And surely it is not just, that the man who never shoots should bear away the prize ; that he who deserts his post, should conquer ; that he who is despicably indolent, should be successful ; or that a bad man should be happy. But the god attended to the prayers of Aemilius ; for he begged for victory and success with his sword in his hand, and fought while he implored the divine aid. Yet one Posidonius *, who says he lived in those times, and was present at that action, in the history of Perseus, which he wrote in several books, affirms, that it was not out of cowardice, nor under pretence of offering sacrifice that he quitted the field, but because the day before the fight, he received a hurt on his leg, from the kick of a horse ; that when the battle came on, though very much indisposed, and dissuaded by his friends, he commanded one of his horses to be brought, mounted him, and charged, without a breast-plate, at the head of the *phalanx* ; and that, amidst the shower of missive weapons of all kinds, he was struck with a javelin of iron, not indeed with the point, but it glanced in such a manner upon his left side, that it not only rent his clothes, but gave him a bruise in the flesh, the mark of which remained a long time. This is what Posidonius says in defence of Perseus.

The Romans, who engaged the *phalanx*, being unable to break it, Salius, a Pelignian officer, snatched the ensign of his company and threw it among the enemy. Hereupon, the Pelignians rushing forward to recover it, for the Italians look upon it as a great crime and disgrace to abandon their standard, a dreadful conflict and slaughter on both sides

* This could not be Posidonius of Apamea, who wrote a continuation of Polybius's history ; for that Posidonius went to Rome during the consulship of Marcellus, a hundred and eighteen years after this battle. Plutarch, indeed, seems to have taken him either for a counterfeit, or a writer of no account, when he calls him *one* Posidonius, who tells us he lived at that time.

ensued. The Romans attempted to cut the pikes of the Macedonians asunder with their swords, to beat them back with their shields, or to put them by with their hands: but the Macedonians holding them steady with both hands, pierced their adversaries through their armour, for neither shield nor corslet was proof against the pike *. The Pælians and Marrucinians were thrown headlong down, who without any sort of discretion, or rather with a brutal fury, had exposed themselves to wounds, and run upon certain death. The first line thus cut in pieces, those that were behind were forced to give back, and though they did not fly, yet they retreated towards Mount Olocrus. Æmilius seeing this, rent his clothes, as Posidonius tells us. He was reduced almost to despair, to find that part of his men had retired, and that the rest declined the combat with a *phalanx* which, by reason of the pikes that defended it on all sides like a rampart, appeared impenetrable and invincible. But as the unevenness of the ground and the large extent of the front would not permit their bucklers to be joined through the whole, he observed several interstices and openings in the Macedonian line; as it happens in great armies, according to the different efforts of the combatants, who in one part press forward, and in another are forced to give back. For this reason, he divided his troops, with all possible expedition, into platoons, which he ordered to throw themselves into the void spaces of the enemy's front: and so, not to engage with the whole at once, but to make many impressions at the same time in different parts. These orders being given by Æmilius to the officers, and by the officers to the soldiers, they immediately made their way between the pikes, wherever there was an opening †; which was no sooner done, than some took the enemy in flank, where they were quite exposed, while others fetched a compass, and attacked them in the rear: thus was the *phalanx* soon broken, and its strength, which depended upon one united effort, was no more. When they came to

* This shows the advantage which the pike has over the broad-sword; and the bayonet is still better, because it gives the soldier the free use of his musket, without being encumbered with a pike, and when screwed to the musket, supplies the place of a pike.

† On the first appearance of this, Perseus should have charged the Romans very briskly with his horse, and by that means have given his infantry time to recover themselves; but instead of this, they barely provided for their own safety by a precipitate flight.

fight man with man, and party with party, the Macedonians had only short swords to strike the long shields of the Romans that reached from head to foot, and light bucklers to oppose to the Roman swords, which, by reason of their weight, and the force with which they were managed, pierced through all their armour to the bodies; so that they maintained their ground with difficulty, and in the end were entirely routed.

It was here, however, that the greatest efforts were made on both sides; and here Marcus, the son of Cato, and son-in-law to Aemilius, after surprising acts of valour, unfortunately lost his sword. As he was a youth who had received all the advantages of education, and who owed to so illustrious a father extraordinary instances of virtue, he was persuaded that he had better die, than leave such a spoil in the hands of his enemies. He, therefore, flew through the ranks, and wherever he happened to see any of his friends or acquaintance, he told them his misfortune, and begged their assistance. A number of brave young men was thus collected, who following their leader with equal ardour, soon traversed their own army, and fell upon the Macedonians. After a sharp conflict and dreadful carnage, the enemy was driven back, and the ground being left vacant, the Romans fought for the sword, which with much difficulty was found under a heap of arms and dead bodies. Transported with this success, they charged those that remained unbroken, with still greater eagerness and shouts of triumph. The three thousand Macedonians, who were all select men, kept their station, and maintained the fight; but at last were entirely cut off. The rest fled; and terrible was the slaughter of those. The field and the sides of the hills were covered with the dead, and the river Leucus, which the Romans crossed the day after the battle, was even then tainted with blood. For it is said, that about twenty-five thousand were killed on the Macedonian side; whereas the Romans, according to Posidonius, lost but one hundred; Nasica says, only fourscore*.

This great battle was soon decided, for it began at the ninth hour †, and victory declared herself before the tenth. The remainder of the day was employed in the pursuit,

* Utterly impossible! if the circumstances of the fight are considered; but Livy's account is lost.

† i. e. Three in the afternoon.

which was continued for the space of an hundred and twenty furlongs, so that it was far in the night when they returned. The servants went with torches to meet their masters, and conducted them with shouts of joy, to their tents, which they had illuminated, and adorned with crowns of ivy and laurel *.

But the general himself was overwhelmed with grief, For, of the two sons that served under him, the youngest, whom he most loved, and who, of all the brothers, was most happily formed for virtue, was not to be found. He was naturally brave and ambitious of honour, and whilst very young †, he concluded that his inexperience had engaged him too far in the hottest of the battle, and that he was certainly killed. The whole army was sensible of his sorrow and distress; and leaving their supper, they ran out with torches, some to the general's tent, and some out of the trenches to seek him among the first of the slain. A profound melancholy reigned in the camp, while the field resounded with the cries of those that called upon Scipio. For, so admirably had nature tempered him, that he was very early marked out by the world, as a person beyond the rest of the youth, likely to excel in the arts both of war and of civil government.

It was now very late, and he was almost given up, when he returned from the pursuit, with two or three friends, covered with the fresh blood of the foe, like a generous young hound, carried too far by the charms of the chase. This is that Scipio who afterwards destroyed Carthage and Numantia, and was incomparably the first, both in virtue and power, of the Romans of his time. Thus fortune did not choose at present to make Æmilius pay for the favour she did him, but deferred it to another opportunity; and therefore he enjoyed this victory with full satisfaction.

As for Perseus, he fled from Pydna to Pella, with his cavalry which had suffered no loss. When the foot over-

* The laurel was sacred to Apollo, and the ivy to Bacchus. Bacchus, who is sometimes supposed to be the same with Hercules, was a warrior, and we read of his expedition into India. But the Roman custom of adorning the tents of the victors with ivy, the plant of Bacchus, might arise from a more simple cause; Cæsar, in his third book of the Civil Wars, says, that in Pompey's camp he found the tent of Lentulus and some others covered with ivy: so sure had they made themselves of the victory.

† He was then in his seventeenth year.

took them, they reproached them as cowards and traitors, pulled them off their horses, and wounded severals of them; so that the king dreading the consequences of the tumult, turned his horse out of the common road, and, lest he should be known, wrapt up his purple robe, and put it before him; he also took off his diadem, and carried it in his hand, and that he might converse the more conveniently with his friends, alighted from his horse and led him. But they all flunk away from him by degrees: one under pretence of tying his shoe, another of watering his horse, and a third of being thirsty himself: not that they were so much afraid of the enemy, as of the cruelty of Perseus, who, exasperated with his misfortunes, sought to lay the blame of his miscarriage on any body but himself. He entered Pella in the night, where he killed with his poinard Euctus and Eudæus, two of his treasurers; who, when they waited upon him had found fault with some of his proceedings, and provoked him by an unseasonable liberty of admonition. Hereupon, every body forsook him, except Evander the Cretan, Archedamus the Ætolian, and Neon the Boeotian: nor did any of his soldiers follow him, but the Cretans, who were not attached to his person, but to his money, as bees are to the honeycomb. For he carried great treasure along with him, and suffered them to take out of it cups and bowls, and other vessels of gold and silver *, to the value of fifty talents. But when he came to Amphipolis, and from thence to Alepsus †, his fears a little abating, he funk again into his old and inborn distemper of avarice; he lamented to his friends, that he had inadvertently given up to the Cretans some of the gold plate of Alexander the Great, and he applied to those that had it, and even begged of them with tears, to return it him for the value in money. Those that knew him well, easily discovered that he was *playing the Cretan with the Cretans* ‡; but such as were prevailed upon to give up the plate, lost all, for he never paid the money. Thus he got thirty talents from his friends, which soon after were to come into the hands of his

* He was afraid to give it them, lest the Macedonians out of spite should take all the rest.

† A manuscript copy has it Galepsus, probably upon the authority of Livy.

‡ It was an ancient proverb, *The Cretans are always liars*. St. Paul has quoted it from Callimachus.

enemies, and with these he failed to Samothrace, where he took refuge at the altar of Castor and Pollux *.

The Macedonians have always had the character of being lovers of their kings †; but now, as if the chief bulwark of their constitution was broken down, and all were fallen with it, they submitted to Æmilius, and in two days he was master of all Macedonia. This seems to give some countenance to those who impute these events to fortune. A prodigy which happened at Amphipolis testified also the favour of the gods. The consul was offering sacrifice there, and the sacred ceremonies were begun, when a flash of lightning fell upon the altar, and at once consumed and consecrated the victim. But the share which fame had in this affair exceeds both that prodigy and what they tell us of his good fortune. For, on the fourth day after Perseus was beaten at Pydna, as the people were at the equestrian games in Rome, a report was suddenly spread in the first seats of the theatre, that Æmilius had gained a great battle over Perseus, and overturned the kingdom of Macedonia. The news was made public in a moment, the multitude clapped their hands and set up great acclamations, and it passed current that day in the city. Afterwards, when it appeared that it had no good foundation, the story dropt for the present; but when a few days after it was confirmed beyond dispute ‡, they could not but admire at the report which was its harbinger, and the fiction which turned to truth.

In like manner it is said that an account of the battle of the Italians near the river Sagra, was carried into Pelopon-

* He carried with him two thousand talents.

† When Perseus was at Amphipolis, being afraid that the inhabitants would take him and deliver him up to the Romans, he came out with Philip, the only child he had with him, and having mounted the tribunal, began to speak; but his tears flowed so fast, that after several trials, he found it impracticable to proceed. Descending again from the tribunal, he spoke to Evander, who then went up to supply his place, and began to speak; but the people, who hated him, refused to hear him, crying out, "Begone, begone; we are resolved not to expose ourselves, our wives, and our children, for your sakes. Fly therefore, and leave us to make the best terms we can with the conquerors." Evander had been the principal actor in the assassination of Eumenes, and was afterwards dispatched in Samothrace by order of Perseus, who was afraid that Evander would accuse him as the author of that murder.

‡ It was confirmed by the arrival of Q. Fabius Maximus, the son of Æmilius, L. Lentulus, and Q. Metellus, who had been sent express by Æmilius, and reached Rome the twentieth day after the action.

ness the same day it was fought ; and of the defeat of the Persians at Mycale, with equal expedition, to Platæa ; and that very soon after the battle which the Romans gained of the Tarquins and the people of Latium, that fought under their banners, two young men of uncommon size and beauty, who were conjectured to be Castor and Pollux, arrived at Rome, from the army, with the news of it. The first man they met with, by the fountain in the market-place, as they were refreshing their horses, that foamed with sweat, expressed his surprise at their account of the victory ; whereupon they are said to have smiled, and to have stroked his beard, which immediately turned from black to yellow. This circumstance gained credit to his report, and got him the surname of *Aenobarbus* ; or *yellow-beard*.

All these stories are confirmed by that which happened in our times. For when Lucius Antonius rebelled against Domitian, Rome was much alarmed, and expected a bloody war in Germany, but on a sudden, and of their own proper motion, the people raised a report, and spread it over the city, that Antonius was vanquished and slain, that his army was cut in pieces, and not one man had escaped. Such a rum had the news, and such was the credit given to it, that many of the magistrates offered sacrifice on the occasion. But when the author of it was sought after, they were referred from one to another, all their inquiries were eluded, and at last the news was lost in the immense crowd, as in a vast ocean. Thus the report, appearing to have no solid foundation, immediately vanished. But as Domitian was marching his forces to chastise the rebels, messengers and letters met him on the road which brought an account of the victory. Then they found that it was won the same day the report was propagated, though the field of battle was more than twenty thousand furlongs from Rome. This is a fact which none can be unacquainted with.

But to return to the story of Perseus : Cneius Octavius, who was joined in command with Aemilius, came with his fleet to Samothrace, where out of reverence to the gods*,

* The gods of Samothrace were dreaded by all nations. The pagans carried their prejudices so far in favour of those pretended deities, that they were struck with awe upon the bare mention of their names. Of all the oaths that were in use among the ancients, that by these gods was deemed the most sacred and inviolable. Such as were found not to have observed this oath were looked upon as the curse of mankind, and persons devoted to destruction. Diodorus (lib. v.

he permitted Perseus to enjoy the protection of the asylum, but watched the coasts and guarded against his escape.—Perseus, however, found means privately to engage one Orandes a Cretan, to take him and his treasure into his vessel, and carry them off. He, like a true Cretan, took in the treasure, and advised Perseus to come in the night, with his wife and children, and necessary attendants, to the port called Demetrium; but, before this, he had set sail. Miserable was the condition of Perseus, compelled as he was to escape through a narrow window, and to let himself down by the wall, with his wife and children, who had little experienced such fatigue and hardship: but still more pitiable were his groans, when, as he wandered by the shore, one told him, that he had seen Orandes a good way off at sea. By this time it was day, and, destitute of all other hope, he fled back to the wall. He was not, indeed, undiscovered, yet he reached the place of refuge, with his wife, before the Romans could take measures to prevent it. His children he put in the hands of Ion, who had been his favourite, but now was his betrayer; for he delivered them up to the Romans; and so by the strongest necessity with which nature can be bound, obliged him, as beasts do, when their young are taken, to yield himself to those who had his children in their power.

He had the greatest confidence in Nafica, and for him he inquired; but as he was not there, he bewailed his fate, and sensible of the necessity he lay under, he surrendered himself to Octavius. Then it appeared more plain than ever, that he laboured under a more despicable disease than avarice itself—I mean the fear of death; and this deprived him even of pity, the only consolation of which fortune does not rob the distressed. For when he desired to be conducted to Aemilius*, the consul rose from his seat, and

tells us that these gods were always present and never failed to assist those that were initiated, and called upon them in any sudden and unexpected danger; and that none ever duly performed their ceremonies without being amply rewarded for their piety. No wonder, then, if the places of refuge in this island were very highly revered. Besides the temple of Cætor and Pol'lux, to which Perseus fled, there was also a wood, esteemed such, where those who were admitted to the holy rites of the *Gabiri*, used to meet.

* Octavius, as soon as he had the king in his power, put him on board the admiral galley, and having embarked also all his treasure that was left, the Roman fleet weighed and stood for Amphipolis. An

accompanied with his friends, went to receive him with tears in his eyes, as a great man unhappily fallen through the displeasure of the gods. But Perseus behaved in the vilest manner ; he bowed down with his face to the earth, he embraced the Roman's knees ; his expressions were so mean, and his entreaties so abject, that Æmilius could not endure them ; but regarding him with an eye of regret and indignation, “ Why dost thou, wretched man ! ” said he, “ acquit fortune of what might seem her greatest crime, by a behaviour which makes it appear that thou deservest her frowns, and that thou art not only now, but hast been long unworthy the protection of that god ! ” why dost thou tarnish my laurels, and detract from my achievements, by showing thyself a mean adversary, and unfit to cope with a Roman ? courage in the unfortunate is highly revered, even by an enemy ; and cowardice, though it meets with success, is held in great contempt among the Romans.”

Notwithstanding this severe rebuke, he raised him up, gave him his hand, and delivered him into the custody of Tubero. Then taking his sons, his sons-in-law, and the principal officers, particularly the younger sort, back with him into his tent, he sat a long time silent, to the astonishment of the whole company. At last, he began to speak of the vicissitudes of fortune, and of human affairs. “ Is it fit then,” said he, “ that a mortal should be elated by prosperity, and plume himself upon the overturning a city, or a kingdom ? should we not rather attend to the instructions of fortune, who, by such visible marks of her instability, and of the weakness of human power, teaches every one that goes to war, to expect from her nothing solid and permanent ? what time for confidence can there be to man, when in the very instant of victory he must necessarily dread the power of fortune, and the very joy of success must be mingled with anxiety, from a reflection on the course of unsparing fate, which humbles one man to-day, and to-morrow another ? when

express was dispatched from thence to acquaint Æmilius with what had happened, who sent Tubero his son-in-law with several persons of distinction to meet Perseus. The consul ordered sacrifices to be immediately offered, and made the same rejoicings as if a new victory had been obtained. The whole camp ran out to see the royal prisoner, who, covered with a mourning cloak, walked alone to the tent of Æmilius.

“ one short hour has been sufficient to overthrow the house
 “ of Alexander, who arrived at such a pitch of glory, and
 “ extended his empire over great part of the world; when
 “ you see princes that were lately at the head of immense
 “ armies, receive their provisions for the day, from the
 “ hands of their enemies; shall you dare to flatter your-
 “ selves, that fortune has firmly settled your prosperity,
 “ or that it is a proof against the attacks of time? shall
 “ you not rather, my young friends, quit this elation of
 “ heart, and the vain raptures of victory, and humble
 “ yourselves in the thought of what may happen hereaf-
 “ ter, in the expectation that the gods will send some
 “ misfortune, to counterbalance the present success?”
 AEmilius, they tell us, having said a great deal to this
 purpose, dismissed the young men, seasonably chastised
 with this grave discourse, and restrained in their natural
 inclination to arrogance.

When this was done, he put his army in quarters, while he went to take a view of Greece. This progress was attended both with honour to himself, and advantage to the Greeks; for he redressed the people's grievances, he reformed their civil government, and gave them gratui-
 ties, to some wheat, and to others oil, out of the royal stores; in which such vast quantities are said to have been found, that the number of those that asked and received, was too small to exhaust the whole. Finding a great square pedestal of white marble at Delphi, designed for a golden statue of Perseus, he ordered his own to be put up on it *; alleging, that it was but just, that the conqueror should give place to the conqueror. At Olympia, we are told, he uttered that celebrated saying, “ This Jupi-
 “ ter of Phidias is the very Jupiter of Homer.”

Upon the arrival of the ten commissioners † from Rome for settling the affairs of Macedonia, he declared the lands and cities of the Macedonians free, and ordered that they

* This was not quite so consistent with his humiliating discourse on the vicissitudes of fortune.

† These ten legates were all men of consular dignity, who came to assist AEmilius in settling a new form of government. The Macedonians were not much charmed with the promise of liberty, because they could not well comprehend what that liberty was. They saw evident contradictions in the decree, which, though it spoke of leaving them under their own laws, imposed many new ones, and threatened more. What most disturbed them, was a division of their kingdom, whereby, as a nation, they were separated and disjointed from each other.

should be governed by their own laws ; only reserving a tribute to the Romans of a hundred talents, which was not half what their kings had imposed.

After this, he exhibited various games and spectacles, offered sacrifices to the gods, and made great entertainments ; for all which he found an abundant supply in the treasures of the king. And he showed so just a discernment in the ordering, the placing, and saluting of his guests, and in distinguishing what degree of civility was due to every man's rank and quality, that the Greeks were amazed at his knowledge of matters of mere politeness, and that, amidst his great actions, even trifles did not escape his attention, but were conducted with the greatest decorum. That which afforded him the highest satisfaction, was, that, notwithstanding the magnificence and variety of his preparations, he himself gave the greatest pleasure to those he entertained. And to those that expressed their admiration of his management on these occasions, he said, “ That it required the same genius to draw up an army, and to order an entertainment* ; that the one might be most formidable to the enemy, and the other most agreeable to the company.”

Among his other good qualities, his disinterestedness and magnanimity stood foremost in the esteem of the world. For he would not so much as look upon the immense quantity of silver and gold that was collected out of the royal palaces, but delivered it to the *queftors*, to be carried into the public treasury. He reserved only the books of the king's library for his sons, who were men of letters ; and in distributing rewards to those that had distinguished themselves in the battle, he gave a silver cup of five pounds weight to his son-in-law, *Aelius Tubero*. This is that Tubero who, as we have already mentioned, was one of the sixteen relations that lived together, and were all supported by one small farm : and this piece of plate acquired by virtue and honour, is affirmed to be the first that was in the family of the *Aelians* ; neither they nor their wives having, before this, either used or wanted any vessels of silver or gold.

After he had made every proper regulation †, taken his leave of the Greeks, and exhorted the Macedonians to re-

* To these two particulars, of drawing up an army, and ordering an entertainment, Henry IV. of France added—the making love.

† At the close of these proceedings, Andronicus the *Aetolian* and *Neo* the *Boeotian*, because they had always been friends to Perseus, and had not deserted him even now, were condemned and lost their heads. So unjust amidst all the specious appearances of justice were the conquerors.

member the liberty which the Romans had bestowed on them *, and to preserve it by good laws and the happiest harmony, he marched into Epirus. The senate had made a decree, that the soldiers who had fought under him against Perseus should have the spoil of the cities of Epirus. In order, therefore, that they might fall upon them unexpectedly, he sent for ten of the principal inhabitants of each city, and fixed a day for them to bring in whatever silver and gold could be found in their houses and temples. With each of these he sent a centurion and guard of soldiers, under pretence of searching for and receiving the precious metal, and as for this purpose only. But when the day came, they rushed upon all the inhabitants, and began to seize and plunder them. Thus in one hour an hundred and fifty thousand persons were made slaves, and seventy cities sacked. Yet from this general ruin and desolation, each soldier had no more than eleven drachmas to his share. How shocking was such a destruction for the sake of such advantage !

Æmilius, having executed this commission, so contrary to his mildness and humanity, went down to Oricum, where he embarked his forces, and passed over into Italy. He sailed up the Tyber in the king's galley, which had sixteen ranks of oars, and was richly adorned with arms taken from the enemy, and with cloth of scarlet and purple ; and the banks of the river being covered with multitudes that came to see the ship as it sailed slowly against the stream, the Romans in some measure anticipated his triumph.

But the soldiers, who looked with longing eyes on the wealth of Perseus, when they found their expectations disappointed, indulged a secret resentment, and were ill-affected to Æmilius. In public they alleged another cause. They said he had behaved in command in a severe and imperious manner, and therefore they did not meet his wishes for a triumph. Servius Galba, who had served under Æmilius, as a tribune, and who had a personal enmity to

* This boasted favour of the Romans to the people of Macedon, was certainly nothing extraordinary. Their country being now divided into four districts, it was declared unlawful for any person to intermarry, to carry on any trade, to buy or sell any lands to any one who was not an inhabitant of his own district. They were prohibited to import any salt ; or to sell any timber fit for building ships to the barbarian nations. All the nobility, and their children, exceeding the age of fifteen, were commanded immediately to transport themselves into Italy : and the supreme power in Macedon was vested in certain Roman senators.

Having observing this, pulled off the mask, and declared that a triumph ought to be allowed him. Having spread among the soldiery several calumnies against the general, and sharpened the resentment which they had already conceived, Galba requested another day of the tribunes of the people; because the remaining four hours, he said, were not sufficient for the intended impeachment. But as the tribunes ordered him to speak then, if he had any thing to say, he began a long harangue full of injurious and false allegations, and spud it out to the end of the day. When it was dark, the tribunes dismissed the assembly. The soldiers, now more insolent than ever, thronged about Galba; and animating each other, before it was light took their stand again in the capitol, where the tribunes had ordered the assembly to be held.

As soon as day appeared, it was put to the vote, and the first tribe gave it against the triumph. When this was understood by the rest of the assembly and the senate, the commonalty expressed great concern at the injury done to Æmilius, but their words had no effect: the principal senators insisted that it was an insufferable attempt, and encouraged each other to repreſs the bold and licentious spirit of the soldiers, who would in time stick at no instance of injustice and violence*, if something was not done to prevent their depriving Paulus Æmilius of the honours of his victory. They pushed, therefore, through the crowd, and coming up in a body, demanded that the tribunes would put a stop to the suffrages, until they had delivered what they had to say to the people. The poll being stopped accordingly, and silence made, Marcus Servilius, a man of consular dignity, who had killed three and twenty enemies in single combat, stood up, and spoke as follows:

“ I am now sensible, more than ever, how great a general
 “ Paulus Æmilius is, when with so mutinous and disorderly
 “ an army he has performed such great and honourable
 “ achievements: but I am surprised at the inconsistency
 “ of the Roman people, if, after rejoicing in triumphs
 “ over the Illyrians and Ligurians†, they envy themselves
 “ the pleasure of seeing the king of Macedon brought alive,
 “ and all the glory of Alexander and Philip led captive by

* This was sadly verified in the times of the Roman emperors.

† Instead of *Illyrian Lybians*, the common reading in the Greek, we should undoubtedly, with the small alteration of one letter, read *Illyrian Ligurians*. For the Ligurians had been conquered by Æmilius.

“ the Roman arms. For is it not a strange thing for you,
“ who, upon a slight rumour of the victory brought hither
“ some time since, offered sacrifices, and made your requests
“ to the gods, that you might soon see that account verified;
“ now the consul is returned with a real victory, to rea-
“ the gods of their due honour, and yourselves of the-
“ tisfaction, as if you were afraid to behold the greatness
“ of the conquest, or were willing to spare the king?
“ though indeed, it would be much better to refuse the
“ triumph out of mercy to him, than envy to your general.
“ But to such excess is your malignity arrived, that a man
“ who never received a wound, a man shining in delicacy
“ and fattened in the shade, dares discourse about the con-
“ dust of the war and the right to a triumph, to you who
“ at the expence of so much blood have learned how to
“ judge of the valour or misbehaviour of your commanders.”

At the same time, baring his breast, he showed an incre-
dible number of scars upon it, and then turning his back,
he uncovered some parts which it is reckoned indecent to
expose; and addressing himself to Galba, he said, “ Thou
laughest at this; but I glory in these marks before my
fellow-citizens: for I got them by being on horseback
day and night in their service. But go on to collect the
votes: I will attend the whole business, and mark those
cowardly and ungrateful men, who had rather have their
own inclinations indulged in war, than be properly
commanded.” This speech, they tell us, so humbled
the soldiery, and effected such an alteration in them, that
the triumph was voted to Æmilius by every tribe.

The triumph is said to have been ordered after this man-
ner: In every theatre, or as they call it, *Circus*, where
equestrian games used to be held, in the *forum*, and other
parts of the city, which were convenient for seeing the pro-
cession, the people erected scaffolds, and on the day of the
triumph were all dressed in white. The temples were to
open, adorned with garlands, and smoking with incense.
Many *lictors* and other officers compelled the disorderly
crowd to make way, and opened a clear passage. The
triumph took up three days. On the first, which was
scarce sufficient for the show, were exhibited the images,
paintings, and colossal statues, taken from the enemy, and
now carried in two hundred and fifty chariots. Next day,
the richest and most beautiful of the Macedonian arms were
brought up in a great number of waggons. These glittered

with new furbished brass and polished steel; and, though they were piled with great art and judgment, yet seemed to be thrown together promiscuously; helmets being placed upon shields, breast-plates upon greaves, Cretan targets, Thracian bucklers, and quivers of arrows huddled among the horses bits, with the points of naked swords and long pikes appearing through on every side. All these arms were tied together with such a just liberty, that room was left for them to clatter as they were drawn along, and the clank of them was so harsh and terrible, that they were not seen without dread, though among the spoils of the conquered. After the carriages loaded with arms, walked three thousand men, who carried the silver money in seven hundred and fifty vessels, each of which contained three talents and was borne by four men. Others brought bowls, horns, goblets, and cups, all of silver, disposed in such order as would make the best show, and valuable not only for their size but the depth of the basso relivo. On the third day, early in the morning, first came up the trumpets, not with such airs as are used in a procession of solemn entry, but with such as the Romans found when they animate their troops to the charge. These were followed by an hundred and twenty fat oxen, with their horns gilded, and set off with ribbons and garlands. The young men that led these victims, were girded with belts of curious workmanship; and after them came the boys who carried the gold and silver vessels for the sacrifice. Next went the persons who carried the gold coin * in vessels which held three talents each, like those that contained the silver, and which were to the number of seventy-seven. Then followed those that bore the consecrated bowl †, of ten talents weight, which Aemilius had caused to be made of gold, and adorned with precious stones; and those that exposed to view the cups of Antigonus of Seleucus, and such as were of the make of the famed artist, Shericles, together with the gold plate that had been used at Perseus's table.

* According to Plutarch's account there were 2250 talents of silver coin, and 231 of gold coin. According to Valerius Antias it amounted to somewhat more; but Livy thinks his computation too small, and Velleius Paterculus makes it almost twice as much. The account which Paterculus gives of it is probably right, since the money now brought from Macedonia set the Romans free from all taxes for one hundred and twenty-five years.

† This bowl weighed six hundred pounds; for the talent weighed $\frac{1}{4}$ fifty pounds. It was consecrated to Jupiter.

Immediately after, was to be seen the chariot of that prince, with his armour upon it and his diadem upon that, at a little distance his children were led captive, attended by a great number of governors, masters, and preceptors, all in tears, who stretched out their hands by way of supplication to the spectators, and taught the children to do the same. There were two sons and one daughter, all so young, that they were not much affected with the greatness of their misfortunes. This insensibility of theirs made the change of their condition more pitiable; insomuch that Perseus passed on almost without notice: so fixed were the eyes of the Romans upon the children from pity of their fate, that many of them shed tears, and none tasted the joy of the triumph without a mixture of pain, till they were gone by. Behind the children and their train walked Perseus himself, clad all in black, and wearing sandals of the fashion of his country. He had the appearance of a man that was overwhelmed with terror, and whose reason was almost staggered with the weight of his misfortunes. He was followed by a great number of friends and favourites, whose countenances were oppressed with sorrow, and who, by fixing their weeping eyes continually upon their prince, testified to the spectators, that it was his lot which they lamented, and that they were regardless of their own. He had sent, indeed to Æmilius, to desire that he might be excused from being led in triumph, and being made a public spectacle. But Æmilius despising his cowardice and attachment to life, by way of derision, it seems, sent him word, "That it had been in his power to prevent it, and still was, if he were so disposed;" hinting, that he should prefer death to disgrace. But he had not the courage to strike the blow, and the vigour of his mind being destroyed by vain hopes, he became a part of his own spoils. Next were carried four hundred coronets of gold, which the cities had sent Æmilius, along with their embassies, as compliments on his victory. Then came the consul himself, riding in a magnificent chariot; a man, exclusive of the pomp of power, worthy to be seen and admired, but his good mien was now set off with a purple robe interwoven with gold, and he held a branch of laurel in his right hand. The whole army likewise carried boughs of laurel, and divided into bands and companies, followed the general's chariot; some singing satirical songs usual on such occasions, and some chanting odes of victory, and the glorious exploits of

Æmilius, who was revered and admired by all, and whom no good man could envy.

But, perhaps there is some superior Being, whose office it is to cast a shade upon any great and eminent prosperity, and so to mingle the lot of human life, that it may not be perfectly free from calamity, but those, as Homer says*, may think themselves most happy to whom fortune gives an equal share of good and evil. For Æmilius having four sons, two of which, namely Scipio and Fabius, were adopted into other families, as has been mentioned above, and two others by his second wife, as yet but young, whom he brought up in his own house; one of these died at fourteen years of age, five days before his father's triumph, and the other at twelve, three days after. There was not a man among the Romans that did not sympathize with him in this affliction. All were shocked at the cruelty of fortune †, who scrupled not to introduce such deep distress into a house that was full of pleasure, of joy, and festal sacrifices, and to mix the songs of victory and triumph with the mournful dirges of death.

* Pletarch here refers to a passage in the speech of Achilles to Priam in the last Iliad, which is thus translated by Pope:

Two urns by Jove's high throne have ever stood,
The source of evil one, and one of good.
From thence the cup of mortal man he fills,
Blessings to these, to those distributes ills;
To most, he mingleth both: the wretch decreed
To raise the bad, unmix'd, is curs'd indeed.
The happiest taste not happiness sincere,
But find the cordial draught is dash'd with care.

Plato has censured it as an impiety to say that God gives evil. God is not the author of evil. Moral evil is the result of the abuse of free agency; natural evil is the consequence of the imperfection of matter; and the Deity stands justified in his creating beings liable to both, because natural imperfection was necessary to a progressive existence, moral imperfection was necessary to virtue, and virtue was necessary to happiness. However, Homer's allegory seems borrowed from the eastern manner of speaking. Thus in the Psalms: *In the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and he poureth out of the same; as for the dregs thereof all the ungodly of the earth shall drink them.* Psal. lxxv. 8.

† Or more properly the just and visible interposition of Providence, to punish in some measure that general havock of the human species which the Roman pride and avarice had so recently made in Greece. For though God is not the author of evil, it is no impeachment of his goodness to suppose that by particular punishments he chastises particular crimes.

Æmilius, however, rightly considering that mankind have need of courage and fortitude, not only against swords and spears, but against every attack of fortune, so tempered and qualified the present emergencies, as to overbalance the evil by the good, and his private misfortunes by the public prosperity ; that nothing might appear to lessen the importance, or tarnish the glory of his victory. For soon after the burial of the first of his sons, he made, as we said, his triumphal entry, and upon the death of the second, soon after the triumph, he assembled the people of Rome, and made a speech to them, not like a man that wanted consolation himself, but like one who could alleviate the grief which his fellow-citizens felt for his misfortunes.

“ Though I have never,” said he, “ feared any thing human, yet among things divine, I have always had a dread of fortune, as the most faithless and variable of beings ; and because in the course of this war she prospered every measure of mine, the rather did I expect that some tempest would follow so favourable a gale. For in one day I passed the Ionian from Brundusium to Corcyra : from thence in five days I reached Delphi, and sacrificed to Apollo. In five days more I took upon me the command of the army in Macedonia ; and as soon as I had offered the usual sacrifices for purifying it, I proceeded to action, and in the space of fifteen days from that time put a glorious period to the war. Disfrutting the fickle goddess on account of such a run of success, and now being secure and free from all danger with respect to the enemy, I was most apprehensive of a change of fortune in my passage home ; having such a great and victorious army to conduct, together with the spoils and royal prisoners. Nay, when I arrived safe among my countrymen, and beheld the city full of joy, festivity, and gratitude, still I suspected fortune, knowing that she grants us no great favour without some mixture of uneasiness or tribute of pain. Thus full of anxious thoughts for what might happen to the commonwealth, my fears did not quit me, till this calamity visited my house, and I had my two promising sons, the only heirs I had left myself, to bury one after the other, on the very days sacred to triumph. Now therefore I am secure as to the greatest danger, and I trust and am fully persuaded that fortune will continue kind and constant to us, since she has taken sufficient usury for her favours, of

"me and mine ; for the man who led the triumph is as great an instance of the weakness of human power as he that was led captive ; there is only this difference, that the sons of Perseus, who were vanquished, are alive, and those of Aemilius, who conquered, are no more."

Such was the generous speech which Aemilius made to the people, from a spirit of magnanimity that was perfectly free from artifice.

Though he pitied the fate of Perseus, and was well inclined to serve him, yet all he could do for him, was to get him removed from the common prison to a cleaner apartment and better diet. In that confinement, according to most writers, he starved himself to death. But some say the manner of his death was very strange and peculiar. The soldiers, they tell us, who were his keepers, being on some account provoked at him, and determined to wreak their malice, when they could find no other means of doing it, kept him from sleep, taking turns to watch him, and using such extreme diligence to keep him from rest, that at last he was quite wearied out and died*. Two of his sons also died ; and the third, named Alexander, is said to have been distinguished for his art in turning and other finall work ; and having perfectly learned to speak and write the Roman language, he was employed by the magistrates as a clerk†, in which capacity he showed himself very serviceable and ingenious.

Of the acts of Aemilius with regard to Macedonia, the most acceptable to the Romans was, that from thence he brought so much money into the public treasury, that the people had no occasion to pay any taxes till the times of Hirtius and Pansa, who were consuls in the first war between Antony and Cæsar. Aemilius had also the uncommon and peculiar happiness, to be highly honoured and caressed by the people, at the same time that he remained attached to the patrician party, and did nothing to ingratiate himself with the commonalty, but ever acted in concert with men of the first rank, in matters of government.

* This account we have from Diodorus Siculus, *ap. Phot. Biblioth.* Philip is said to have died before his father, but how or where cannot be collected, because the books of Livy, and of Diodorus Siculus, which treat of those times are lost.

† Here was a remarkable instance of the pride of the Roman senate, to have the son of a vanquished king for their clerk : While Nicomedes, the son of Prusias king of Bithynia, was educated by them with all imaginable pomp and splendour, because the father had put him under the care of the republic.

This conduct of his was afterwards alleged by way of approach against Scipio Africanus, by Appius. The two being then the most considerable men in Rome, stood for the censorship; the one having the senate and nobility on his side, for the Appian family were always in that interest, and the other not only great in himself, but ever great in favour with the people. When, therefore, Appius saw Scipio come into the *forum* attended by a crowd of mean persons, and many who had been slaves, but who were able to cabal, to influence the multitude, and to carry all before them, either by solicitation or clamour, he cried out, “O Paulus *Æmilius*! groan, groan from beneath the earth, to think that *Æmilius* the crier and *Lycinius* the rioter conduct thy son to the censorship!” It is no wonder if the cause of Scipio was espoused by the people, since he was continually heaping favours upon them. But *Æmilius*, though he ranged himself on the side of the nobility, was as much beloved by the populace as the most insinuating of their demagogues. This appeared in their bestowing upon him, among other honours, that of the censorship, which is the most sacred of all offices, and which has great authority annexed to it, as in other respects, so particularly in the power of inquiring into the morals of the citizens. For the censors could expel from the senate any member that acted in a manner unworthy of his station, and enrol a man of character in that body; and they could disgrace one of the equestrian order who behaved licentiously, by taking away his horse. They also took account of the value of each man's estate, and registered the number of the people. The number of citizens which *Æmilius* took, was three hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and fifty-two. He declared Marcus *Æmilius* Lepidus first senator, who had already four times arrived at that dignity. He expelled only three senators who were men of no note; and with equal moderation both he and his colleague Marcus Philippus behaved in examining into the conduct of the knights.

Having settled many important affairs while he bore this office, he fell into a distemper, which at first appeared very dangerous, but in time became less threatening, though it still was troublesome and difficult to be cured. By the advice therefore of his physicians, he sailed to *Velia**, where

* Plutarch here writes *Elea* instead of *Velia*, and calls it a town in Italy, to distinguish it from one of that name in Greece.

he remained a long time near the sea, in a very retired and quiet situation. In the mean time, the Romans greatly regretted his absence, and by frequent exclamations in the theatres, testified their extreme desire to see him again. At last, a public sacrifice coming on, which necessarily required his attendance, Aemilius seeming now sufficiently recovered returned to Rome, and offered that sacrifice, with the assistance of the other priests, amidst a prodigious multitude of people, who expressed their joy for his return. Next day he sacrificed again to the gods for his recovery. Having finished these rites, he returned home and went to bed: when he suddenly fell into a delirium, in which he died the third day, having attained to every thing that is supposed to contribute to the happiness of man.

His funeral was conducted with wonderful solemnity; the cordial regard of the public did honour to his virtue, by the best and happiest obsequies. These did not consist in the pomp of gold, of ivory, or other expence and parade, but in esteem, in love, in veneration, expressed not only by his countrymen, but by his very enemies. For as many of the Spaniards, Ligurians, and Macedonians*, as happened to be then at Rome, and were young and robust, assisted in carrying his bier; while the aged followed it, calling Aemilius their benefactor, and the preserver of their countries. For he not only, at the time he conquered them, gained the character of humanity, but continued to do them services, and to take care of them, as if they had been his friends and relations.

The estate he left behind him scarcely amounted to the sum of three hundred and seventy thousand *denarii*, of which he appointed his sons joint heirs: but Scipio, the younger son, who was adopted into the opulent house of Africanus, gave up his part to his brother. Such is the account we have of the life and character of Paulus Aemilius†.

* These were some of the Macedonian nobility, who were then at Rome. Valerius Maximus says, it was like a second triumph to Aemilius, to have these persons assist in supporting his bier, which was adorned with representations of his conquest of their country. In fact, it was more honourable than the triumph he had led up, because this bore witness to his humanity, and the other only to his valour.

† A saying of his to his son Scipio, is worth mentioning; *a good general never gives battle, but when he is led to it, either by the last necessity, or by a very favourable occasion.*

TIMOLEON AND PAULUS ÆMILIUS
COMPARED.

IF we consider these two great men as history has represented them, we shall find no striking difference between them in the comparison. Both carried on wars with very respectable enemies; the one with the Macedonians, the other with the Carthaginians; and both with extraordinary success. One of them conquered Macedon, and crushed the house of Antigonus, which had flourished in a succession of seven kings; the other expelled tyranny out of Sicily, and restored that island to its ancient liberty. It may be in favour of Æmilius, that he had to do with Perseus when in his full strength, and when he had beaten the Romans, and Timoleon with Dionysius, when reduced to very **desperate** circumstances: as, on the other hand, it may be observed to the advantage of Timoleon, that he subdued many tyrants, and defeated a great army of Carthaginians, with such forces as he happened to pick up, who were not veteran and experienced troops like those of Æmilius, but mercenaries and undisciplined men, who had been accustomed to fight only at their own pleasure. For equal exploits, with unequal means and preparations, reflect the greater glory on the general who performs them.

Both paid a strict regard to justice and integrity in their employments. Æmilius was prepared from the first to behave so, by the laws and manners of his country; but Timoleon's probity was owing entirely to himself. A proof of this, is, that in the time of Æmilius, good order universally prevailed among the Romans, through a spirit of obedience to their laws and usages, and a reverence of their fellow-citizens; whereas, not one of the Grecian generals who commanded in Sicily, kept himself uncorrupted, except Dion: and many entertained a jealousy that even he affected monarchy, and dreamt of setting up such a regal authority as that in Lacedæmon. Timæus informs us, that the Syracusans sent away Gylippus loaded with infamy, for his infatiable avarice and rapacity, while he had the command; and many writers give account of the misdemeanors and breach of articles which Pharax the Spartan, and Callippus the Athenian, were guilty of.

hopes of gaining the sovereignty of Sicily. But what were these men, and on what power did they build such hopes? Phalarax was a follower of Dionysius, who was already expelled, and Callippus was an officer in the foreign troops in the service of Dion. But Timoleon was sent to be general of the Syracusans, at their earnest request; he had not an army to provide, but found one ready formed, which cheerfully obeyed his orders; and yet he employed this power for no other end, than the destruction of their oppressive masters.

Yet again, it was to be admired in Aemilius, that, though he subdued so opulent a kingdom, he did not add one *duchma* to his substance. He would not touch, nor even look upon the money himself, though he gave many liberal gifts to others. I do not, however, blame Timoleon for accepting of a handsome house and lands: for it is no disgrace to take something out of so much, but to take nothing at all, is better; and that is the most consummate virtue, which shows that it is above pecuniary considerations, even when it has the best claim to them.

As some bodies are able to bear heat, and others cold, but those are the strongest which are equally fit to endure either; so the vigour and firmness of those minds is the greatest, which are neither elated by prosperity, nor broken by adversity. And in this respect, Aemilius appears to have been superior; for in the great and severe misfortune of the loss of his sons, he kept up the same dignity of carriage, as in the midst of the happiest success. But Timoleon, when he had acted as a patriot should, with regard to his brother, did not let his reason support him against his grief; but becoming a prey to sorrow and remorse, for the space of twenty years he could not so much as look upon the place where the public business was transacted, much less take a part in it. A man should, indeed, be afraid and ashamed of what is really shameful, but to shrink under every reflection upon his character, though it speaks a delicacy of temper, has nothing in it of true greatness of mind.

PELOPIDAS.

CATO the elder, hearing somebody commend a man who was rashly and indiscreetly daring in war, made this just observation, that *there was great difference between a due regard to valour, and a contempt of life.* To this purpose, there is a story of one of the soldiers of Antigonus, who was astonishingly brave, but of an unhealthy complexion and bad habit of body. The king asked him the cause of his paleness, and he acknowledged that he had a private infirmity. He therefore gave his physicians a strict charge, that if any remedy could be found, they should apply it with the utmost care. Thus the man was cured; but then he no longer courted, nor risked his person as before. Antigonus questioned him about it, and could not forbear to express his wonder at the change. The soldier did not conceal the real cause, "You, Sir," said he, "have made me less bold, by delivering me from that misery, which made my life of no account to me." From the same way of arguing it was, that a certain Sybarite * said of the Spartans, "It was no wonder if they ventured their lives freely in battle, since death was a deliverance to them from such a train of labours, and from such wretched diet." It was natural for the Sybarites, who were dissolved in luxury and pleasure, to think that they who despised death, did it not from a love of virtue and honour, but because they were weary of life. But in fact, the Lacedæmonians thought it a pleasure either to live or to die, as virtue and right reason directed; and so this epitaph testifies,

Nor life nor death, they deem'd the happier state,
But life that's glorious, or a death that's great.

For neither is the avoiding of death to be found fault with, if a man is not dishonourably fond of life; nor is the meeting it with courage, to be commended, if he is

* The Sybarites were a colony of Greeks, who settled in ancient times on the gulf of Tarentum. The felicity of their situation, their wealth and power drew them into luxury, which was remarkable to a proverb. But one cannot credit the extravagant things which Athenæus relates of them. Their chief city which at first was called Sybaris, from a river of that name, was afterwards named Thurium or Thurii.

diligent with life. Hence it is, that Homer leads out the boldest and bravest of his warriors to battle, always well armed: and the Grecian lawgivers punish him who throws away his shield, not him who loses his sword or spear; thus instructing us, that the first care of every man, especially of every governor of a city, or commander of an army, should be, to defend himself, and after that, to think of annoying the enemy. For if, according to the comparison made by Iphicrates, the light-armed resemble the hands, the cavalry the feet, the main-body of infantry the breast, and the general the head; then that general who suffers himself to be carried away by his impetuosity, so as to expose himself to needless hazards, not only endangers his own life, but the lives of his whole army, whose safety depends upon his. Callicratidas, therefore, though otherwise a great man, did not answer the soothsayer well, who desired him not to expose himself to danger, because the entrails of the victim threatened his life. "Sparta," said he, "is not bound up in one man." For in battle he was indeed but one, when acting under the orders of another, whether at sea or land: but when he had the command, he virtually comprehended the whole force in himself; so that he was no longer a single person, when such numbers must perish with him. Much better was the saying of old Antigonus, when he was going to engage in a sea fight near the isle of Andros. Somebody observed to him, that the enemy's fleet was much larger than his: "For how many ships then dost thou reckon me?" He represented the importance of the commander great, as in fact it is, when he is a man of experience and valour; and the first duty of such a one, is to preserve him who preserves the whole.

On the same account we must allow that Timotheus expressed himself happily, when Charcs showed the Athenians the wounds he had received, when their general, and his shield pierced with a spear: "I, for my part," said he, "was much ashamed, when at the siege of Samos, a javelin fell near me, as if I had behaved too like a young man, and not as became the commander of so great an armament." For where the scale of the whole action turns upon the general's risking his own person, there he is to stand the combat, and to brave the greatest danger, without regarding those who say that a good general should die of old age, or, at least, an old man: but

when the advantage to be reaped from his personal beauty is but small, and all is lost in case of a miscarriage, no one then expects that the general should be endangered, by exerting too much of the soldier.

Thus much I thought proper to premise before the lives of Pelopidas and Marcellus, who were both great men, and both perished by their rashness. Both were excellent soldiers, did honour to their country, by the greatest exploits, and had the most formidable adversaries to deal with; for the one defeated Hannibal, until that time invincible, and the other conquered the Lacedæmonians, who were masters both by sea and land; and yet at last they both threw away their lives, and spilt their blood without any sort of discretion, when the times most required such men and such generals. From this resemblance between them, we have drawn their parallel.

Pelopidas, the son of Hippocles, was of an illustrious family in Thebes, as was also Epaminondas. Brought up in affluence, and coming in his youth to a great estate, he applied himself to relieve such necessitous persons as deserved his bounty, to shew that he was really master of his riches, not their slave. For the greatest part of men, as Aristotle says, either through covetousness, make no use of their wealth, or else abuse it through prodigality; and these live perpetual slaves to their pleasures, as those do to care and toil. The Thebans, with grateful hearts, enjoyed the liberality and munificence of Pelopidas. Epaminondas alone could not be persuaded to share in it. Pelopidas, however, partook in the poverty of his friend, glorying in a plainness of dress and slenderness of diet, indefatigable in labour, and plain and open in his conduct, in the highest polls*.

In short, he was like Capaneus in Euripides,

—Whose opulence was great,
And yet his heart was not elated.

He looked upon it as a disgrace to expend more upon his own person than the poorest Theban. As for Epaminondas, poverty was his inheritance, and consequently familiar to him, but he made it still more light and easy, by philosophy, and by the uniform simplicity of his life.

* *καταγατεις αερον* —literally, plain and open in his conduct in war. But in Boeotia, as well as other Grecian states, a commander in chief of the forces was generally also first minister. Such an one in Boeotia was called *Παιωνιας*.

Pelopidas married into a noble family, and had several children, but setting no greater value upon money than before, and devoting all his time to the concerns of the commonwealth, he impaired his substance. And when his friends admonished him, that *money which he neglected was a very necessary thing*: *It is necessary indeed*, said he, *for Nicias there*, pointing to a man that was both lame and blind.

Epaminondas and he were both equally inclined to every virtue, but Pelopidas delighted more in the exercises of the body, and Epaminondas in the improvement of the mind; and the one diverted himself in the wrestling-ring or in hunting, while the other spent his hours of leisure in hearing or reading something in philosophy. Among the many things that reflected glory upon both, there was nothing which men of sense so much admired, as that strict and inviolable friendship which subsisted between them from first to last, in all the high posts which they held, both military and civil. For if we consider the administration of Aristides and Themistocles, of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, how much the common concern was injured by their dissension, their envy and jealousy of each other, and then cast our eyes upon the mutual kindness and esteem which Pelopidas and Epaminondas inviolably preserved, we may justly call these colleagues in civil government and military command, and not those whose study it was to get the better of each other rather than of the enemy. The true cause of the difference was, the virtue of these Thebans, which led them not to seek, in any of their measures, their own honour and wealth, the pursuit of which is always attended with envy and strife; but being both inspired from the first with a divine ardour to raise their country to the summit of glory, for this purpose they availed themselves of the achievements of each other, as if they had been their own.

But many are of opinion, that their extraordinary friendship took its rise from the campaign which they made at Mantinea*, among the succours which the Thebans had sent the Lacedemonians, who as yet were their allies. For being placed together among the heavy-armed infantry,

* We must take care not to confound this with the famous battle at Mantinea, in which Epaminondas was slain. For that battle was fought against the Lacedemonians, and this for them. The action here spoken of was probably about the third year of the ninety-eighth Olympiad.

and fighting with the Arcadians, that wing of the Lacedæmonians in which they were, gave way and was broken; whereupon Pelopidas and Epaminondas locked their shields together and repulsed all that attacked them, till at last Pelopidas having received seven large wounds, fell upon a heap of friends and enemies who lay dead together. Epaminondas, though he thought there was no life left in him, yet stood forward to defend his body and his arms, and being determined to die rather than leave his companion in the power of his enemies, he engaged with numbers at once. He was now in extreme danger, being wounded in the breast with a spear, and in the arm with a sword, when Agesipolis, king of the Lacedæmonians, brought succours from the other wing, and beyond all expectation, delivered them both.

After this, the Spartans in appearance treated the Thebans as friends and allies *, but, in reality, they were suspicious of their spirit and power; particularly they hated the party of Ismenias and Androclides, in which Pelopidas was, as attached to liberty and a popular government. Therefore Archias, Leontidas, and Philip, men inclined to an oligarchy, and rich withal, and ambitious, persuaded Phœbidas, the Lacedæmonian, who was marching by Thebes, with a body of troops †, to seize the castle called Cadmea, to drive the opposite party out of the city, and to put the administration into the hands of the nobility, subject to the inspection of the Lacedæmonians. Phœbidas listened to the proposal, and coming upon the Thebans unexpectedly, during the feast of the *Thesmophoria* ‡, he made himself master of the citadel, and seized Ismenias, and carried him to Lacedæmon, where he was put to death soon after.

* During the whole Peloponnesian war, Sparta found a very faithful ally in the Thebans: and under the countenance of Sparta, the Thebans recovered the government of Boeotia, of which they had been deprived on account of their defection to the Persians. However, at length they grew so powerful and headstrong, that when the peace of Antalcidas came to be subscribed to, they refused to come into it, and were with no small difficulty overawed and forced into it by the confederates. We learn, indeed, from Polybius, that though the Lacedæmonians, at that peace, declared all the Grecian cities free, they did not withdraw their garrisons from any one of them.

† Phœbidas was marching against Olynthus, when Leontidas, or Leontiades, one of the two polemarchs, betrayed to him the town and citadel of Thebes. This happened in the third year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, three hundred and seventy-four years before the Christian era.

‡ The women were celebrating this feast in the Cadmea.

Pelopidas, Pherenicus, and Androclides, with many others that fled, were sentenced to banishment. But Epaminondas remained upon the spot, being despised for his philosophy, as a man who would not intermeddle with affairs, and for his poverty, as a man of no power.

Though the Lacedæmonians took the command of the army from Phœbidas, and fined him in a hundred thousand drachmas, yet they kept a garrison in the Cadmea notwithstanding. All the rest of Greece was surprised at this absurdity of theirs, in punishing the actor, and yet authorizing the action. As for the Thebans, who had lost their ancient form of government, and were brought into subjection by Archias and Leontidas, there was no room for them to hope to be delivered from the tyranny, which was supported in such a manner by the power of the Spartans, that it could not be pulled down unless those Spartans could be deprived of their dominion both by sea and land.

Nevertheless, Leontidas having got intelligence that the exiles were at Athens, and that they were treated there with great regard by the people, and no less respected by the nobility, formed secret designs against their lives. For this purpose he employed certain unknown assassins, who took off Androclides; but all the rest escaped. Letters were also sent to the Athenians from Sparta, insisting that they should not harbour or encourage exiles, but drive them out as persons declared by the confederates to be common enemies; but the Athenians, agreeable to their usual and natural humanity, as well as in gratitude to the city of Thebes, would not suffer the least injury to be done the exiles. For the Thebans had greatly assisted in restoring the democracy at Athens, having made a decree that if any Athenian should march armed through Boeotia against the Spartans, he should not meet with the least hinderance or molestation in that country.

Pelopidas, though he was one of the youngest *, applied to each exile in particular, as well as harangued them in a body; urging, “ That it was both dishonourable and impious to leave their native city enslaved and garrisoned by an enemy; and, mainly contented with their own

* Xenophon in the account which he gives of this transaction, does not so much as mention Pelopidas. His silence in this respect was probably owing to his partiality to his hero Agesilaus, whose glory he might think would be eclipsed by that of Pelopidas and his worthy colleague Pammenes; for of the latter, too, he speaks very sparingly.

“lives and safety, to wait for the decrees of the Athenians;
 “and to make their court to the popular orators; but that
 “they ought to run every hazard in so glorious a cause;
 “imitating the courage and patriotism of Thrasybulus;
 “for as he advanced from Thebes to crush the tyrants in
 “Athens, so should they march from Athens to deliver
 “Thebes.”

Thus perswaded to accept his proposal, they sent privately to their friends who were left behind in Thebes, to acquaint them with their resolution, which was highly approved of; and Charon, a person of the first rank, offered his house for their reception. Philidas found means to be appointed secretary to Archias and Philip, who were then *polarchs*; and as for Epaminondas, he had taken pains all along to inspire the youth with sentiments of bravery. For he desired them in the public exercises to try the Lacedæmonians at wrestling, and when he saw them elated with success, he used to tell them by way of reproof, “That they should rather be ashamed of their meanness of spirit in remaining subject to those to whom, in strength, they were so much superior.”

A day being fixed for putting their design in execution, it was agreed among the exiles, that Pherenicus with the rest should stay at Thriasium, while a few of the youngest should attempt to get entrance first into the city; and that if these happened to be surprised by the enemy, the others should take care to provide for their children and their parents. Pelopidas was the first that offered to be of this party, and then Melon, Democrides, and Theopompus, all men of noble blood, who were united to each other by the most faithful friendship, and who never had any conceit but which should be foremost in the race of glory and valour. These adventurers who were twelve in number, having embraced those that stayed behind, and sent a messenger before them to Charon, set out in their under-garments, with dogs and hunting-poles, that none who met them might have any suspicion of what they were about, and that they might seem to be only hunters beating about for game.

When their messenger came to Charon, and acquainted him that they were on their way to Thebes, the near approach of danger changed not his resolution: he behaved like a man of honour, and made preparations to receive them. Hippothenidas, who was also in the secret, was not by any

means an ill man, but rather a friend to his country and to the exiles; yet he wanted that homines which the present emergency and the hazardous point of execution required. He grew giddy, as it were, at the thought of the great danger, they were about to plunge in, and at last opened his eyes enough to see, that they were attempting to shake the Lacedæmonian government, and to free themselves from that power without any other dependence than that of a few indigent persons and exiles. He therefore went to his own house without saying a word, and dispatched one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas to desire them to defer their enterprise for the present, to return to Athens, and to wait till a more favourable opportunity offered.

Chlidon, for that was the name of the man sent upon this business, went home in all haste, took his horse out of the stable, and called for the bridle. His wife being at a loss, and not able to find it, said she had lent it to a neighbour. Upon this, words arose, and mutual reproaches followed; the woman venting bitter imprecations, and wishing that the journey might be fatal, both to him and those that sent him. So that Chlidon, having spent great part of the day in this squabble, and looking upon what had happened as ominous, laid aside all thoughts of the journey, and went elsewhere. So near was this great and glorious undertaking to being disconcerted at the very entrance.

Pelopidas and his company, now in the dress of peasants, divided, and entered the town at different quarters, whilst it was yet day. And, as the cold weather was setting in *, there happened to be a sharp wind and a shower of snow, which concealed them the better, most people retiring into their houses, to avoid the inclemency of the weather. But those that were concerned in the affair, received them as they came, and conducted them immediately to Charon's house; the exiles and others making up the number of forty-eight.

As for the affairs of the tyrants, they stood thus: Philidas, their secretary, knew (as we said) the whole design of the exiles, and omitted nothing that might contribute to its success. He had invited Archias and Philip some time before, to an entertainment at his house on that day, and

* The Spartans seized on the Cadmea about the middle of summer, in the year already mentioned, and it was taken from them in the beginning of winter, in the first year of the hundredth Olympiad.

promised to introduce to them some women, in order that those who were to attack them, might find them dissolved in wine and pleasure *. They had not yet drank very freely, when a report reached them, which, though not false, seemed uncertain and obscure, that the exiles were concealed somewhere in the city. And though Philidas endeavoured to turn the discourse, Archias sent an officer to Charon, to command his immediate attendance. By this time it was grown dark, and Pelopidas and his companions were preparing for action, having already put on their breast-plates and girt their swords, when suddenly there was a knocking at the door; whereupon one ran to it, and asked what the person's business was, and having learned from the officer that he was sent by the polemarchs to fetch Charon, he brought in the news in great confusion. They were unanimous in their opinion, that the affair was discovered, and that every man of them was lost, before they had performed any thing which became their valour. Nevertheless, they thought it proper that Charon should obey the order, and go boldly to the tyrants. Charon was a man of great intrepidity and courage in dangers that threatened only himself, but then he was much affected on account of his friends, and afraid that he should lie under some suspicion of treachery, if so many brave citizens should perish. Therefore, as he was ready to depart, he took his son, who was yet a child, but of a beauty and strength beyond those of his years, out of the women's apartment and put him in the hands of Pelopidas; desiring, "That if he found him a traitor he would treat that child as an enemy, and not spare its life." Many of them shed tears, when they saw the concern and magnanimity of Charon; and all expressed their uneasiness at his thinking any of them so dastardly and so much disconcerted with the present danger, as to be capable of suspecting or blaming him in the least. They begged of him, therefore, not to leave his son with them, but to remove him out of the reach of what might possibly happen, to some place, where, safe from the tyrants, he might be brought up to be an avenger of his country, and his friends. But Charon refused to remove him, "For what life," said he, "or what deliverance could I wish

* Perhaps at first he really intended to introduce some women; or, as it is in the original, *γυναικες των οικανων*, married women; and the dressing up the exiles in female habits, was an after-thought.

him, that would be more glorious than his falling honourably with his father and so many of his friends? Then he addressed himself in prayer to the gods, and having embraced and encouraged them all, he went out; endeavouring by the way to compose himself, to form his countenance, and to assume a tone of voice very different from the real state of his mind.

When he was come to the door of the house, Archias and Philidas went out to him and said, "What persons are there, Charon, who, as we are informed, are lately come into the town, and are concealed and countenanced by some of the citizens?" Charon was a little fluttered at first, but soon recovering himself, he asked, "Who these persons they spoke of were, and by whom harboured?" And finding that Archias had no clear account of the matter, concluded from thence that his information came not from any person that was privy to the design, and therefore said, "Take care that you do not disturb yourselves with vain rumours. However, I will make the best inquiry I can; for, perhaps, nothing of this kind ought to be disregarded." Philidas, who was by, commended his prudence, and conducting Archias in again, plied him strongly with liquor, and prolonged the carousal by keeping up their expectation of the women.

When Charon was returned home, he found his friends prepared, not to conquer or to preserve their lives, but to kill them dear, and to fall gloriously. He told Pelopidas the truth, but concealed it from the rest, pretending that Archias had discoursed with him about other matters*.

The first storm was scarce blown over when fortune raised a second. For there arrived an express from Athens with a letter from Archias high-priest there to Archias his namesake and particular friend, not filled with vain and groundless surmises, but containing a clear narrative of the whole affair, as was found afterwards. The messenger being admitted to Archias now almost intoxicated, as he delivered the letter, said, "The person who sent this, desired that it might be read immediately, for it contains business of great importance." But Archias receiving it, said smiling, *Business to-morrow.* Then he put it under the

* There appears no necessity for this artifice; and indeed Plutarch, in his treatise concerning the genius of Socrates, says, that Charon came back to the little band of patriots with a pleasant countenance, and gave them all an account of what had passed, without the least disguise.

bolster of his couch, and resumed the conversation with Philidas. This saying, *business to-morrow*, passed into a proverb, and continues so among the Greeks to this day.

A good opportunity now offering for the execution of their purpose, the friends of liberty divided themselves into two bodies, and sallied out. Pelopidas and Damochidas went against Leontidas and Hypates*, who were neighbours, and Charon and Melon against Archias and Philip. Charon and his company put women's clothes over their armour, and wore thick wreaths of pine and poplar upon their heads to shadow their faces. As soon as they came to the door of the room where the guests were, the company shouted and clapped their hands, believing them to be the women whom they had so long expected. When the pretended women had looked round the room, and distinctly surveyed all the guests, they drew their swords; and making at Archias and Philip across the table, they showed who they were. A small part of the company were perfused by Philidas not to intermeddle: the rest engaged in the combat, and stood up for the *polemarchs*, but, being disordered with wine, were easily dispatched.

Pelopidas and his party had a more difficult affair of it. They had to do with Leontidas, a sober and valiant man. They found the door made fast, for he was gone to bed, and they knocked a long time before any body heard. At last a servant perceived it, and came down and removed the bar; which he had no sooner done, than they pushed open the door, and rushing in, threw the man down, and ran to the bed-chamber. Leontidas, conjecturing by the noise and trampling what the matter was, leapt from his bed and seized his sword; but he forgot to put out the lamps, which, had he done, it would have left them to fall foul on each other in the dark. Being, therefore, fully exposed to view, he met them at the door, and with one stroke laid Cephisodorus, who was the first man that attempted to enter, dead at his feet. He encountered Pelopidas next, and the narrowness of the door, together with the dead body of Cephisodorus lying in the way, made the dispute long and doubtful. At last Pelopidas prevailed, and having slain Leontidas, he marched immediately with his little band against Hypates. They

* These were not invited to the entertainment, because Archias, expecting to meet a woman of great distinction, did not choose that Leontidas should be there.

got into his house in the same manner as they did into the other: but he quickly perceived them, made his escape into a neighbour's house, whither they followed, and dispatched him.

This affair being over, they joined Melon, and sent for the exiles they had left in Attica. They proclaimed liberty to all the Thebans*, and armed such as came over to them, taking down the spoils that were suspended upon the porticos, and the arms out of the shops of the armourers and sword-cutlers. Epaminondas† and Gorgidas, came to their assistance, with a considerable body of young men, and a select number of the old, whom they had collected and armed.

The whole city was now in great terror and confusion; the houses were filled with lights, and the streets with men, running to and fro. The people, however, did not yet assemble; but being astonished at what had happened, and knowing nothing with certainty, they waited with impatience for the day. It seems, therefore, to have been a great error in the Spartan officers, that they did not immediately sally out and fall upon them; for their garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men, and they were joined besides by many people from the city. But, terrified at the shouts, the lights, the hurry, and confusion that were on every side, they contented themselves with preserving the citadel.

As soon as it was day, the exiles from Attica came in armed; the people complied with the summons to assemble; and Epaminondas and Gorgidas presented to them Pelopidas and his party, surrounded by the priests, who carried garlands in their hands, and called upon the citizens to exert themselves for their gods and their country. Excited by this appearance, the whole assembly flood up, and received them with great acclamations as their benefactors and deliverers.

Pelopidas, then elected governor of Bœotia, together with Melon and Charon, immediately blocked up and attacked the citadel, hastening to drive out the Lacedæmonians.

* Pelopidas also sent Philidas to all the gaols in the city, to release the brave Thebans, whom the tyrannic Spartans kept in fetters.

† Epaminondas did not join them sooner, because he was afraid that too much innocent blood would be shed with the guilty.

nians, and to recover the *Cadmea*, before succours could arrive from Sparta. And indeed he was but a little before-hand with them; for they had but just surrendered the place, and were returning home, according to capitulation, when they met Cleombrotus at Megara, marching towards Thebes with a great army. The Spartans called to account the three *harmostea*, officers who had commanded in the *Cadmea*, and signed the capitulation. Hermippidas and Acrius were executed for it, and the third, named Dysaoridas, was so severely fined, that he was forced to quit Peloponnesus †.

This action of Pelopidas ‡ was called, by the Greeks, sister to that of Thrasybulus, on account of their near resemblance not only in respect of the great virtues of the men, and the difficulties they had to combat, but the success with which fortune crowned them. For it not easy to find another instance so remarkable, of the few overcoming the many, and the weak the strong, merely by dint of courage and conduct, and procuring by these means such great advantages to their country. But the change of affairs which followed upon this action, rendered it still more glorious. For the war which humbled the pride of the Spartans, and deprived them of their empire both by sea and land, took its rise from that night, when Pelopidas, without taking town or castle, but being only one out of twelve, who entered a private house, loosened and broke to pieces (if we may express truth by a metaphor) the chains of the Spartan government, until then esteemed indissoluble.

* As it is not probable that the regaining so strong a place, should be the work of a day, or have been effected with so small a force as Pelopidas then had, we must have recourse to Diodorus Siculus and Xenophon, who tell us, that the Athenians, early on the next morning, after the seizing on the city, sent the Theban general five thousand foot, and two thousand horse; and that several other bodies of troops came in from the cities of Boeotia, to the number of about seven thousand more; that Pelopidas besieged the place in form with them, and that it held out several days, and surrendered at length for want of provisions. *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv. Xenof. b. 1. v.*

† It was a maxim with the Spartans, to die sword in hand, in defence of a place committed to their care.

‡ M. Dacier gives a parallel between the conduct of this action, and that of the prince of Monaco in driving a Spanish garrison out of his town.

The Lacedæmonians soon entering Bœotia with a powerful army, the Athenians were struck with terror; and renouncing their alliance with the Thebans, they took cognizance in a judicial way, of all that continued in the interest of that people, some they put to death, some they banished, and upon others they laid heavy fines. The Thebans being thus deserted by their allies, their affairs seemed to be in a desperate situation. But Pelopidas and Gorgidas, who then had the command in Bœotia, sought means to embroil the Athenians again with the Spartans; and they availed themselves of this stratagem. There was a Spartan named Sphodrias, a man of great reputation as a soldier, but of no sound judgment, sanguine in his hopes, and indiscreet in his ambition. This man was left with some troops at Thebes, to receive and protect such of the Bœotians, as might come over to the Spartans. To him Pelopidas privately sent a merchant in whom he could confide*, well provided with money, and with proposals that were more likely to prevail than the money: "That it became him to undertake some noble enterprise—to surprise the Piræus for instance, by falling suddenly upon the Athenians, who were not provided to receive him: for that nothing could be so agreeable to the Spartans, as to be masters of Athens; and that the Thebans now incensed against the Athenians, and considering them as traitors, would lend them no manner of assistance."

Sphodrias, suffering himself at last to be persuaded, marched into Attica by night, and advanced as far as Eleusis †. There the hearts of his soldiers began to fail, and finding his design discovered, he returned to Thespia, after he had thus brought upon the Lacedæmonians a long and dangerous war. For upon this the Athenians readily united with the Thebans; and having fitted out a large fleet, they sailed round Greece, engaging and receiving such as were inclined to shake off the Spartan yoke.

* This is more probable than what Diodorus Siculus says; namely, that Cleombrotus, without any order from the *Ephori*, persuaded Sphodrias to surprise the Piræus.

† They hoped to have reached the Piræus in the night, but found, when the day appeared, that they were got no farther than Eleusis.—Sphodrias, perceiving that he was discovered, in his return, plundered the Athenian territories. The Lacedæmonians recalled Sphodrias, and the *Ephori* proceeded against him; but Agesilaus, influenced by his son, who was a friend of the son of Sphodrias, brought him off.

Meantime, the Thebans, by themselves, frequently came to action with the Lacedæmonians in Bœotia, not in full battles, indeed, but in such as were of considerable service and improvement to them; for their spirits were raised, their bodies inured to labour, and by being used to these encounters, they gained both experience and courage. Hence it was, that Antalcidas the Spartan, said to Agesilaus when he returned from Bœotia wounded, *Truly you are well paid for the instruction you have given the Thebans, and for teaching them the art of war against their will.* Though to speak properly, Agesilaus was not their instructor, but those prudent generals who made choice of fit opportunities to let loose the Thebans, like so many young hounds, upon the enemy; and when they had tasted of victory, satisfied with the ardour they had shown, brought them off again safe. The chief honour of this was due to Pelopidas. For from the time of his being first chosen general, until his death, there was not a year that he was out of employment, but he was constantly either captain of the sacred band, or governor of Bœotia. And while he was employed, the Lacedæmonians were several times defeated by the Thebans, particularly at Plataæ, and at Thespiae, where Phœbidas, who had surprised the *Cadmea*, was killed; and at Tanagra, where Pelopidas beat a considerable body, and slew, with his own hand, their general Panthoides.

But these combats, though they served to animate and encourage the victors, did not quite dishearten the vanquished. For they were not pitched battles, nor regular engagements, but rather advantages gained of the enemy, by well-timed skirmishes, in which the Thebans sometimes pursued, and sometimes retreated.

But the battle of Tegyra, which was a sort of prelude to that of Leuctra, lifted the character of Pelopidas very high; for none of the other commanders could lay claim to any share of the honour of the day, nor had the enemy any pretext to cover the shame of their defeat.

He kept a strict eye upon the city of Orchomenus †, which had adopted the Spartan interest, and received two companies of foot for its defence, and watched for an op-

* We know not how the former translator happened to render *σκυλακας* *flaunch hounds*, when it signifies *whelps*, which by tasting the blood, became eager after the game.

† This was one of the largest and most considerable towns in Bœotia, and still garrisoned by the Lacedæmonians.

portunity to make himself master of it. Being informed, that the garrison were gone upon an expedition into Locris, he hoped to take the town with ease, now it was destitute of soldiers, and therefore hastened thither with the *scutum* and a small party of horse. But finding, when he was near the town, that other troops were coming from Sparta to supply the place of those that were marched out, he led his forces back again by Tegyra, along the sides of the mountains, which was the only way he could pass: for all the flat country was overflowed by the river Melas, which, from its very source, spreading itself into marshes and navigable pieces of water, made the lower roads impracticable.

A little below these marshes, stands the temple of Apollo *Tegyraeus*, whose oracle there, has not been long silent. It flourished most in the Persian war, while Echerates was high-priest. Here they report, that Apollo was born; and at the foot of the neighbouring mountain called Delos, the Melas returns into its channel. Behind the temple rise two copious springs, whose waters are admirable for their coolness and agreeable taste. The one is called *Palm*, and the other *Olive*, to this day; so that Latona seems to have been delivered, not between two trees, but two fountains of that name. Ptoum, too, is just by, from whence, it is said, a boar suddenly rushed out and frightened her; and the stories of Python and Tityus, the scene of which lies here, agree with their opinion who say, Apollo was born in this place. The other proofs of this matter I omit. For tradition does not reckon this deity among those who were born mortal, and afterwards were changed into demigods; of which number were Hercules and Bacchus, who by their virtues were raised from a frail and perishable being to immortality: but he is one of those eternal deities who were never born, if we may give credit to those ancient sages that have treated of their high points.

The Thebans then retreating from Orchomenus towards Tegyra, the Lacedæmonians who were returning from Locris, met them on the road. As soon as they were perceived to be passing the straits, one ran and told Pelopidas, *We are fallen into the enemy's hands: And why not they, said he, into ours?* At the same time he ordered the cavalry to advance from the rear to the front, that they might be ready for the attack; and the infantry, who were

but three hundred *, he drew up in a close body ; hoping that, wherever they charged, they would break through the enemy, though superior in numbers.

The Spartans had two battalions. Ephorus says, their battalion consisted of five hundred men, but Callisthenes makes it seven hundred, and Polybius and others nine hundred. Their *polemarchs*, Gorgoleon and Thippus, pushed boldly on against the Thebans. The battle began in the quarter where the generals fought in person on both sides, and was very violent and furious. The Spartan commanders, who attacked Pelopidas, were among the first that were slain ; and all that were near them being either killed or put to flight, the whole army was terrified, that they opened a lane for the Thebans, through which they might have passed safely, and continued their route if they had pleased. But Pelopidas, disdaining to make his escape so, charged those who yet stood their ground, and made such havoc among them, that they fled in great confusion. The pursuit was not continued very far, for the Thebans were afraid of the Orchomenians who were near the place of battle, and of the forces just arrived from Lacedæmon. They were satisfied with beating them in fair combat, and making their retreat through a dispersed and defeated army.

Having, therefore, erected a trophy, and gathered the spoils of the slain, they returned home not a little elated. For it seems that in all their former wars both with the Greeks and barbarians, the Lacedæmonians had never been beaten, the greater number by the less, nor even by equal numbers, in a pitched battle. Thus their courage seemed irresistible, and their renown so much intimidated their adversaries, that they did not care to hazard an engagement with them on equal terms. This battle first taught the Greeks, that it is not the Eurotas, nor the space between Babylæ and Cnacion, which alone produces brave warriors, but wherever the youth are ashamed of what

* This small body was, however, the very flower of the Theban army, and was dignified by the names of the *first battalion* and the *band of lovers* (as mentioned below), being equally famed for their fidelity to the Theban state, and affection for each other. Some fabulous things are related of them, from which we can only infer, that they were a brave resolute set of young men, who had vowed perpetual friendship to each other, and had bound themselves, by the strongest ties, to stand by one another to the last drop of their blood; and were therefore the fittest to be employed in such private and dangerous expeditions.

bold, resolute in a good cause, and more inclined to avoid disgrace than danger, there are the men who are terrible to their enemies.

Gorgidas, as some say, first formed the *sacred band*, consisting of three hundred select men, who were quartered in the *Cadmea*, and maintained and exercised at the public expence. They were called the *city-band*, for citadels in those days were called cities.

* * * * *

But Gorgidas, by disposing those that belonged to this sacred band here and there in the first ranks, and covering the front of his infantry with them, gave them but little opportunity to distinguish themselves, or effectually to serve the common cause; thus divided as they were, and mixed with other troops more in number and of inferior resolution. But when their valour appeared with so much lustre at *Tegyrie*, where they fought together, and close to the person of their general, Pelopidas, would never part them afterwards, but kept them in a body, and constantly charged at the head of them in the most dangerous attacks. For, as horses go faster, when harnessed together in a chariot, than they do, when driven single, not because their united force more easily breaks the air, but because their spirits are raised higher by emulation; so he thought the courage of brave men would be most irresistible, when they were acting together and contending with each other which should most excel.

But when the Lacedæmonians had made peace with the rest of the Greeks, and continued the war against the Thebans only, and when king Cleombrotus had entered their country with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse, they were not only threatened with the common dangers of war, as before, but even with total extirpation; which spread the utmost terror over all Bœotia. As Pelopidas, on this occasion, was departing for the army, his wife, who followed him to the door, besought him, with tears, to take care of himself, he answered, *My dear, private persons are to be advised to take care of themselves, but persons in a public character to take care of others.*

When he came to the army, and found the general officers differing in opinion, he was the first to close in with that of Epaminondas, who proposed that they should give the enemy battle. He was not, indeed, then one of

those that commanded in chief, but he was captain of the *sacred band*; and they had that confidence in him, which was due to a man who had given his country such pledges of his regard for liberty.

The resolution thus taken to hazard a battle, and the two armies in sight at Leuctra, Pelopidas had a dream which gave him no small trouble. In that field lie the bodies of the daughters of Sebasus, who are called *Leuctridæ* from the place. For a rape having been committed upon them by some Spartans whom they had hospitably received into their house, they had killed themselves, and were buried there. Upon this, their father went to Lacedæmon, and demanded that justice should be done upon the persons who had committed so detestable and atrocious a crime; and as he could not obtain it, he vented bitter imprecations against the Spartans, and then killed himself upon the tomb of his daughters. From that time many prophecies and oracles forewarned the Spartans to beware of the vengeance of Leuctra: The true intent of which but few understood; for they were in doubt as to the place that was meant, there being a little maritime town called Leuctrum, in Laconia, and another of the same name near Megalopolis in Arcadia. Besides, that injury was done to the daughters of Sebasus long before the battle of Leuctra.

Pelopidas, then, as he slept in his tent, thought he saw these young women weeping at their tombs, and loading the Spartans with imprecations, while their father ordered him to sacrifice a red-haired young virgin to the damids, if he desired to be victorious in the ensuing engagement. This order appearing to him cruel and unjust, he rose and communicated it to the soothsayers and the generals. Some were of opinion, that it should not be neglected or disobeyed, alleging to the purpose the ancient stories of Menœceus the son of Creon *, and Macaria the daughter of Hercules; and the more modern instances of Pherecydes the philosopher, who was put to death by the Lacedæmonians, and whose skin was preserved by their kings, pursuant to the direction of some oracle; of Leonidas, who by order of the oracle too, sacrificed himself, as it were, for the sake of Greece; and lastly, of the human victim

* Menœceus devoted himself to death for the benefit of his country; as did also Macaria for the benefit of the Heraclidæ. For an account of the former, see the *Phœnissa*, and for the latter, the *Heraclide* of Euripides.

offered by Themistocles to Bacchus-Oineutes, before the scuffle at Salamis; to all which sacrifices the ensuing success gave a sanction. They observed also, that Agesilaus setting sail from the same place that Agamemnon did, and against the same enemies, and seeing, moreover, at Aulis, the same vision of the goddesses * demanding his daughter in sacrifice, through an ill-timed tenderness for his child refused it; the consequence of which was, that his expedition proved unsuccessful.

Those that were of the contrary opinion, argued, that so barbarous and unjust an offering could not possibly be acceptable to any superior being; that no *Typhons* or giants, but the father of gods and men, governed the world; that it was absurd to suppose that the gods delighted in human sacrifices; and that, if any of them did, they ought to be regarded as impotent beings, since such strange and except desires could not exist but in weak and vicious minds.

While the principal officers were engaged on this subject, Pelopidas was more perplexed than all the rest, on a sudden a she-colt quitted the herd, and ran through the camp: and when she came to the place where they were assembled, she stood still. The officers, for their part, only admired her colour, which was a shining red, the直lineis of her form, the vigour of her motions, and the brightness of her neighings; but Theocritus the diviner, understanding the thing better, cried out to Pelopidas, "Here comes the victim, fortunate man that thou art! " wait for no other virgin, but sacrifice that which heaven hath sent thee." They then took the colt, and led her to the tomb of the virgins, where, after the usual prayers and the ceremony of crowning her, they offered her up with joy, not forgetting to publish the vision of Pelopidas and the sacrifice required, to the whole army.

The day of battle being come, Epaminondas drew up the infantry of his left wing in an oblique form, that the

* Xenophon, in the seventh book of his Grecian history, acquaints us that Pelopidas, when he went upon an embassy to the king of Persia, represented to him, that the hatred which the Lacedaemonians bore the Thebans, was owing to their not following Agesilaus when he went to make war upon Persia, and to their hindering him from sacrificing his daughter at Aulis when Diana demanded her; a compliance with which demand would have ensured his success; which, at least, was the doctrine of the heathen theology.

right wing of the Spartans being obliged to divide from the other Greeks, he might fall with all his force upon Cleombrotus, who commanded them, and break them with the greater ease. But the enemy, perceiving his intention, began to change their order of battle, and to extend their right wing, and wheel about, with a design to surround Epaminondas. In the mean time, Pelopidas came briskly up with his band of three hundred; and before Cleombrotus could extend his wing as he desired, or reduce it to its former disposition, fell upon the Spartans, disordered as they were with the imperfect movement. And though the Spartans, who were excellent masters in the art of war, laboured no point so much as to keep their men from confusion, and from dispersing when their ranks happened to be broken *; insomuch that the private men were as able as the officers to knit again, and to make an united effort, wherever any occasion of danger required: yet Epaminondas then attacking their right wing only, without stopping to contend with the other troops, and Pelopidas rushing upon them with incredible speed and bravery, broke their resolution, and baffled their art. The consequence was such a rout and slaughter as had been never known before †. For this reason Pelopidas, who had no share in the chief command, but was only captain of a small band, gained as much honour by this day's great success, as Epaminondas, who was governor of Boeotia, and commander of the whole army.

But soon after they were appointed joint-governors of Boeotia, and entered Peloponnesus together, where they

* ἀς το πεν πλαντας μηταρρεοδαι
ταξις διαλυθεισ.

† The Theban army consisted, at most, but of six thousand men, whereas that of the enemy was, at least, thrice that number, reckoning the allies. But Epaminondas trusted most in his cavalry, wherein he had much the advantage, both in their quality and good management; the rest he endeavoured to supply by the disposition of his men, who were drawn up fifty deep, whereas the Spartans were but twelve. When the Thebans had gained the victory, and killed Cleombrotus, the Spartans renewed the fight, to recover the king's body; and in this the Theban general wisely chose to gratify them, rather than to hazard the success of a second onset. The allies of the Spartans behaved ill in this battle, because they came to it with an expectation to conquer without fighting; as for the Thebans, they had no allies at this time. This battle was fought in the year before Christ 371. *Diod. Sic. I. xv. Xenoph. Hell. l. vi.*

and several cities to revolt from the Lacedemonians, brought over to the Theban interest Elia, Argos, all Arcadia, and great part of Laconia itself. — It was now the winter solstice, and the latter end of the last month in the year, so that they could hold their office but a few days longer: for new governors were to succeed on the first day of the next month, and the old ones to deliver up their charge under pain of death.

The rest of their colleagues, afraid of the law, and dreading a winter campaign, were for marching home without loss of time: but Pelopidas joining with Epaminondas to oppose it, encouraged his fellow citizens, and led them against Sparta. Having passed the Eurotas, they took many of the Lacedemonian towns, and ravaged all the country to the very sea, with an army of seventy thousand Greeks, of which the Thebans did not make the twelfth part. But the character of those two great men, without any public order or decree, made all the allies follow with silent approbation, wherever they led. For the first and supreme law, that of nature, seems to direct those that have need of protection, to take him for their chief who is most able to protect them. And as passengers, though, in fine weather, or in port, they may behave insolently, and drive the pilots, yet, as soon as a storm arises, and danger appears, fix their eyes on them, and rely wholly on their skill; so the Argives, the Eleans, and the Arcadians, in the bent of their councils, were against the Thebans, and contended with them for superiority of command; but when the time of action came, and danger pressed hard, they followed the Theban generals of their own accord, and submitted to their orders.

In this expedition they united all Arcadia into one body, drove out the Spartans who had settled in Messenia, and called home its ancient inhabitants; they likewise re-peopled Ithome. And in their return through Cenchrea, they defeated the Athenians*, who had attacked them in the straits, with a design to hinder their passage.

After such achievements, all the other Greeks were charmed with their valour, and admired their good fortune: in the envy of their fellow-citizens, which grew up toge-

* This happened to the Athenians through the error of their general Alcibiades, who, though otherwise an able man, forgot the pass of Cenchrea, while he placed his troops in a less commodious.

ther with their glory, prepared for them a very unkind and unsuitable reception. For at their return they were both capitally tried, for not delivering up their charge, according to law, in the first month, which they call *Bou-
cation*, but holding it four months longer; during which time they performed those great actions in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia.

Pelopidas was tried first, and therefore was in more danger: however, they were both acquitted. Epmi-
nondas bore the accusations and attempts of malignity with great patience; for he considered it as no small instance of fortitude and magnanimity, not to resent the injuries done by his fellow-citizens: but Pelopidas, who was naturally of a warmer temper, and excited by his friends to revenge himself, laid hold on this occasion.

Menecidas, the orator, was one of those who met upon the great enterprise in Charon's house. This man finding himself not held in the same honour with the rest of the deliverers of their country, and being a good speaker, though of bad principles, and a malevolent disposition, indulged his natural turn, in accusing and calumniating his superiors; and this he continued to do with respect to Epmi-
nondas and Pelopidas, even after judgment was passed in their favour. He prevailed so far as to deprive Epmi-
nondas of the government of Boeotia, and managed a party against him a long time with success: but his insinuations against Pelopidas were not listened to by the people, and therefore he endeavoured to embroil him with Charon. It is the common consolation of envy, when a man cannot maintain the higher ground himself, to represent those he is excelled by, as inferior to some others. Hence it was, that Menecidas was ever extolling the actions of Charon to the people, and lavishing encomiums upon his expedi-
tions and victories. Above all, he magnified his success in a battle fought by the cavalry under his command at Plataea, a little before the battle of Leuctra, and endeavoured to perpetuate the memory of it by some public monument.

The occasion he took was this. Androcides of Cyzicium had agreed with the Thebans for a picture of some other battle; which piece he worked at in the city of Thebes. But upon the revolt, and the war that ensued, he was obliged to quit that city, and leave the painting, which was almost finished, with the Thebans. Menecidas endeavoured to persuade the people to hang up this piece in

one of their temples, with an inscription, signifying that it was one of Charon's battles, in order to cast a shade upon the glory of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. Certainly the proposal was vain and absurd, to prefer one single engagement*, in which there fell only Gerandas, a Spartan of no note, with forty others, to so many and such important victories. Pelopidas, therefore, opposed this motion, insisting that it was contrary to the laws and usages of the Thebans, to ascribe the honour of a victory to any one man in particular, and that their country ought to have the glory of it entire. As for Charon, he was liberal in his praises of him through his whole harangue, but he showed that Menecidas was an envious and malicious man; and he often asked the Thebans, if they had never before done anything that was great and excellent. Hereupon a heavy fine was laid upon Menecidas; and, as he was not able to pay it, he endeavoured afterwards, to disturb and overturn the government. Such particulars as these, though small, have to give an insight into the lives and characters of men. At that time Alexander †, the tyrant of Pheræ, making open war against several cities of Thessaly, and entertaining a secret design to bring the whole country into subjection, the Thessalians sent ambassadors to Thebes to beg the favour of a general and some troops. Pelopidas seeing Epaminondas engaged in settling the affairs of Peloponnesus, offered himself to command in Thessaly, for he was unwilling that his military talents and skill should lie useless, and well satisfied withal; that wherever Epaminondas was, there was no need of any other general. He therefore marched with his forces into Thessaly, where he soon recovered Larissa; and, as Alexander came and made submission, he endeavoured to soften and humanize him, and, instead of a tyrant, to render him a just and good prince. But finding him incorrigible and brutal, and receiving fresh complaints of his cruelty, his unbridled lust and inturbable avarice, he thought it necessary to treat him with some severity; upon which he made his escape with the guards.

* Xenophon speaks slightly of Charon: he says, "The exiles went to the house of one Charon."

† He had lately poisoned his uncle Polyphron, and himself upon the same in his stead. Polyphron, indeed had killed his own brother Eumenes, the father of Alexander. All these, with Jason, who was of the same family, were usurpers. Thessaly, which before was a free state,

Having now secured the Thessalians against the ~~Teræ~~^{Teræ} and left them in a good understanding among themselves, he advanced into Macedonia*. Ptolemy had commenced hostilities against Alexander king of that country, and they both had sent for Pelopidas to be an arbitrator of their differences, and an assistant to him who should appear to be injured. Accordingly he went and decided their dispute, recalled such of the Macedonians as had been banished, and taking Philip, the king's brother, and thirty young men of the best families as hostages, he brought them to Thebes, that he might show the Greeks to what height the Theban commonwealth was risen by the reputation of its arms, and the confidence that was placed in its justice and probity†.

This was that Philip who afterwards made war upon Greece, to conquer and enslave it. He was now a boy, and brought up at Thebes, in the house of Pammenes. Hence he was believed to have proposed Epaminondas for his pattern; and perhaps he was attentive to that great man's activity and happy conduct in war, which was in truth the most inconsiderable part of his character: as for his temperance, his justice, his magnanimity, and mildness, which really constituted Epaminondas the great man, Philip had no share of them, either natural or acquired.

After this, the Thessalians complaining again, that Alexander of Phœre disturbed their peace, and formed designs upon their cities, Pelopidas and Ismenias were deputed to attend them. But having no expectation of a war, Pelopidas had brought no troops with him, and therefore the urgency of the occasion obliged him to make use of the Thessalian forces.

At the same time there were fresh commotions in Macedonia: for Ptolemy had killed the king and assumed the sovereignty. Pelopidas, who was called in by the friends of the deceased, was desirous to undertake the cause; but, having no troops of his own, he hastily raised some mercenaries, and marched with them immediately against

* Amyntas II. left three legitimate children, Alexander, Perdicæs, and Philip, and one natural son, whose name was Ptolemy. His last made war against Alexander, slew him treacherously, and reigned three years.

† About this time the cause of liberty was in a great measure deserted by the other Grecian states. Thebes was now the only commonwealth that retained any remains of patriotism and concern for the injured and oppressed.

Ptolemy. Upon their approach, Ptolemy billeted the mercenaries, and brought them over to his side : yet, dreading the very name and reputation of Pelopidas, he went to pay his respects to him as his superior, endeavoured to pacify him with entreaties, and solemnly promised to keep the subscription for the brothers of the dead king, and to regard the enemies and friends of the Thebans as his own. For the performance of these conditions he delivered to him a son of Philopaeans and fifty of his companions, as hostages. Pelopidas sent to Thebes. But being incensed at the treachery of the mercenaries, and having intelligence that they had lodged the best part of their effects, together with their wives and children, in Pharsalus, he thought by taking these he might lawfully revenge the affront. Therefore he assembled some Thessalian troops, and marched against the town. He was no sooner arrived, than Alexander the tyrant appeared before it with his army. Pelopidas concluding that he was come to make apology for his conduct, went to him with Iphicrates. Not that he was ignorant what an abandoned and faygaiinary man he had to deal with, but he imagined that the dignity of Thebes and his own character would protect him from violence. The tyrant, however, when he saw them alone and unarmed, immediately seized their persons, and possessed himself of Pharsalus. This struck all his subjects with terror and astonishment : for they were persuaded, that, after such a flagrant act of injustice, he would spare nobody, but behave on all occasions, and to all persons, like a man that had desperately thrown off all regard to his own life and safety.

When the Thebans were informed of this outrage, they were filled with indignation, and gave orders to their army to march directly into Thessaly ; but Epaminondas then happening to lie under their displeasure *, they appointed other generals.

As for Pelopidas, the tyrant took him to Phœre, where at first he did not deny any one access to him, imagining that he was greatly humbled by his misfortune. But Pelo-

* They were displeased at him, because in a late battle fought with the Lacedæmonians near Corinth, he did not, as they thought, pursue his advantage to the utmost, and put more of the enemy to the sword. Hereupon they removed him from the government of Boeotia, and sent him along with their forces as a private person. Such acts of ingratitude towards great and excellent men are common in popular governments.

pidas, seeing the Pheræans overwhelmed with sorrow, bade them be comforted, because now vengeance was ready to fall upon the tyrant; and sent to tell him, "That he acted very absurdly in daily torturing and putting to death so many of his innocent subjects, and in the mean time sparing him, who, he might know, was determined to punish him when once out of his hands." The tyrant, surprised at his magnanimity and unconcern, made answer, "Why is Pelopidas in such haste to die?" Which being reported to Pelopidas, he replied, "It is that thou, being more hated by the gods than ever, mayest the sooner come to a miserable end."

From that time Alexander allowed access to none but his keepers. Thebe, however, the daughter of JASON, who was wife to the tyrant, having an account from those keepers of his noble and intrepid behaviour, had a desire to see him, and to have some discourse with him. When she came into the prison, she could not presently distinguish the majestic turn of his person amidst such an appearance of distress; yet supposing from the disorder of his hair, and the meanness of his attire and provisions, that he was treated unworthily, she wept. Pelopidas, who knew not his visitor, was much surprised; but when he understood her quality, addressed her by her father's name, with whom he had been intimately acquainted. And upon her saying, "I pity your wife," he replied, "And I pity you, who, wearing no fetters, can endure Alexander." This affected her nearly; for she hated the cruelty and insolence of the tyrant, who to his other debaucheries added that of abusing her youngest brother. In consequence of this, and by frequent interviews with Pelopidas, to whom she communicated her sufferings, she conceived a still stronger resentment and aversion for her husband.

The Theban generals, who had entered Thessaly, without doing any thing, and either through their incapacity or ill fortune, returned with disgrace, the city of Thebes fined each of them ten thousand drachmas, and gave Lysan inonides the command of the army that was to act in Thessaly.

The reputation of the new general, gave the Thessalians fresh spirits, and occasioned such great insurrections among them, that the tyrant's affairs seemed to be in a very desperate condition; so great was the terror that fell upon his officers and friends, so forward were his subjects to revolt, and so universal was the joy at the prospect of seeing him punished.

Epaminondas, however, preferred the safety of Pelopidas to his own fame; and fearing, if he carried matters to an extremity at first, that the tyrant might grow desperate, and destroy his prisoner, he protracted the war. By fetching a compass, as if to finish his preparations, he kept Alexander in suspense, and managed him so as neither to moderate his violence and pride*, nor yet to increase his fierceness and cruelty. For he knew his savage disposition and the little regard he paid to reason or justice: that he buried some persons alive, and dressed others in the skins of bears and wild boars, and then, by way of diversion, baited them with dogs, or dispatched them with darts: that having summoned the people of Melibœa and Scotiæ, towns in friendship and alliance with him, to meet him in full assembly, he surrounded them with guards, and with all the wantonness of cruelty, put them to the sword: and that he consecrated the spear with which he slew his uncle Polyphron, and having crowned it with garlands, offered sacrifice to it, as to a god, and gave it the name of *Tychon*. Yet upon seeing a tragedian act the *Troades* of Euripides, he went hastily out of the theatre, and at the same time sent a message to the actor, “Not to be discouraged, but to exert all his skill in his part; for it was not out of any dislike that he went out, but he was ashamed that his citizens should see him, who never pitied those he put to death, weep at the sufferings of Hecuba and Andromachè.”

This execrable tyrant was terrified at the very name and character of Epaminondas,

And dropped the craven wing.

He sent an embassy in all haste to offer satisfaction, but that general did not vouchsafe to admit such a man into alliance with the Thebans; he only granted him a truce of thirty days, and having recovered Pelopidas and Ismenias out of his hands, he marched back again with his army.

Soon after this, the Thebans having discovered that the Lacedæmonians and Athenians had sent ambassadors to the king of Persia, to draw him into league with them, sent Pelopidas on their part; whose established reputation amply

* *ας μητε ανθει το αυταδει και θραυσυρειν, μητε το τικει ται Θεμιδιαις Κερδιαι.* If the tyrant had restrained his excesses, his subjects might have returned to him, and if his fury had been more provoked, he might have killed Pelopidas.

justified their choice. For he had no sooner entered the king's dominions than he was universally known and honoured: the fame of his battles with the Lacedaemonians had spread itself through Asia; and, after his victory at Leuctra, the report of new successes continually following, had extended his renown to the most distant provinces. So that when he arrived at the king's court, and appeared before the nobles and great officers that waited there, he was the object of universal admiration: "This," said they, "is the man who deprived the Lacedaemonians of the empire both of sea and land, and confined Sparta within the bounds of Taygetus and Eurotas; that Sparta, which a little before, under the conduct of Agesilaus, made war against the great king, and shook the realms of Susa and Ecbatana." On the same account Artaxerxes rejoiced to see Pelopidas, and loaded him with honours. But when he heard him converse in terms that were stronger than those of the Athenians, and plainer than those of the Spartans, he admired him still more; and, as kings seldom conceal their inclinations, he made no secret of his attachment to him, but let the other ambassadors see the distinction in which he held him. It is true, that, of all the Greeks, he seemed to have done Antalcidas the Spartan the greatest honour*, when he took the garland which he wore at table from his head, dipt it in perfumes, and sent it him. But though he did not treat Pelopidas with that familiarity, yet he made him the richest and most magnificent presents, and fully granted his demands; which were, "That all the Greeks should be free and independent; that Messene should be repeopled; and that the Thebans should be reckoned the king's hereditary friends."

With this answer he returned, but without accepting any of the king's presents, except some tokens of his favour and regard: a circumstance that reflected no small dishonour upon the other ambassadors. The Athenians condemned and executed Timagoras, and justly too, if it was on account of the many presents he received. For he accepted not only gold and silver, but a magnificent bed, and servants to make it, as if that was an art which the Greeks were not skilled in. He received also fourscore cows, and herdsmen to take care of them, as if he wanted their milk for his

* If Plutarch means the Spartan ambassador, he differs from Xenophon, who says that his name was Euthicles. He likewise tells us that Timagoras was the person whom the king esteemed next to Pelopidas.

health; and, at last, he suffered himself to be carried in a litter as far as the sea-coast at the king's expence, who paid four talents for his conveyance: But his receiving of presents does not seem to have been the principal thing that incensed the Athenians. For when Epicrates, the armour-bearer acknowledged in full assembly, that he had received the king's presents, and talked of proposing a decree, that, instead of choosing nine *archons* every year, nine of the poorest citizens should be sent ambassadors to the king, that by his gifts they might be raised to affluence, the people only laughed at the motion. What exasperated the Athenians most, was, that the Thebans had obtained of the king all they asked; they did not consider how much the character of Pelopidas outweighed the address of their visitors, with a man who ever paid particular attention to military excellence.

This embassy procured Pelopidas great applause, as well on account of the repeopling of Messene, as to the restoring of liberty to the rest of Greece.

Alexander the Pheræan was now returned to his natural disposition; he had destroyed several cities of Thessaly, and put garrisons into the towns of the Phthiotæ, the Achæans and the Magnesians. As soon as these oppressed people had learnt that Pelopidas was returned, they sent their deputies to Thebes, to beg the favour of some forces, and that he might be their general. The Thebans willingly granted their request, and an army was soon got ready; but as the general was on the point of marching, the sun began to be eclipsed, and the city was covered with darkness in the day-time.

Pelopidas, seeing the people in great consternation at this *phæno'menon*, did not think proper to force the army to move, while under such terror and dismay, nor to risk the lives of even thousand of his fellow-citizens. Instead of that, he went himself into Thessaly, and taking with him only three hundred horse, consisting of Theban volunteers and strangers, he set out, contrary to the warnings of the soothsayers and inclinations of the people. For they considered the eclipse as a sign from heaven, the object of which must be some illustrious personage. But, besides that Pelopidas was the more exasperated against Alexander by reason of the ill treatment he had received, he hoped from the conversation he had with Thebe, to find the tyrant's family embroiled and in great disorder. The greatest

incitement however was the honour of the thing. Held a generous ambition, to show the Greeks, at a time when the Lacedemonians were sending generals and other officers to Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, and the Athenians were pensioners to Aleksander, as their benefactor to whom they had erected a statue in brass, that the Thebans were the only people who took the field in behalf of the oppressed, and endeavoured to extirpate all arbitrary and unjust government.

When he was arrived at Pharsalus, he assembled his forces, and then marched directly against Aleksander; who, knowing that Pelopidas had but few Thebans about him, and that he himself had double his number of Thessalian infantry, went to meet him as far as the temple of Theseus. When he was informed, that the tyrant was advancing towards him with a great army, *So much the better*, said he, *for we shall beat so many the more.*

Near the place called Cynocephala, there are two steep hills opposite each other, in the middle of the plain. Both sides endeavoured to get possession of these hills with their infantry. In the mean time Pelopidas with his cavalry, which was numerous and excellent, charged the enemy's horse, and put them to the rout. But while he was pursuing them over the plain, Aleksander had gained the hills, having got before the Thessalian foot, which he attacked as they were trying to force those strong heights, killing the foremost, and wounding many of those that followed, so that they toiled without effecting any thing. Pelopidas seeing this, called back his cavalry, and ordered them to fall upon such of the enemy as still kept their ground on the plain; and taking his buckler in his hand, he ran to join those that were engaged on the hills. He soon made his way to the front, and by his presence inspired his soldiers with such vigour and alacrity, that the enemy thought they had quite different men to deal with. They stood two or three charges; but when they found that the foot still pressed forward, and saw the horse return from the pursuit, they gave ground, and retreated, but slowly, and step by step*. Pelopidas then taking a view, from an eminence, of the enemy's whole army, which did not yet take to flight, but was full of confusion and disorder, stopped a while to look round on Aleksander. When he

* *επεκάστος* —

perceived him on the right encouraging and rallying the mercenaries, he was no longer master of himself; but sacrificing both his safety, and his duty as a general, to his passion, he sprang forward a great way before his troops, loudly calling for and challenging the tyrant, who did not dare to meet him or to wait for him, but fell back and hid himself in the midst of his guards. The foremost ranks of the mercenaries, who came hand to hand, were broken by Pelopidas, and a number of them slain; but others fighting at a distance, pierced his armour with their javelins. The Thessalians, extremely anxious for him, ran down the hill to his assistance, but when they came to the place, they found him dead upon the ground. Both horse and foot then falling upon the enemy's main body, entirely routed them, and killed above three thousand. The pursuit continued a long way, and the fields were covered with the carcasses of the slain.

Such of the Thebans as were present, were greatly afflicted at the death of Pelopidas, calling him *their father, their favourer, and inflictor in every thing that was great and honourable.* Nor is this to be wondered at; since the Thessalians and allies, after exceeding, by their public acts in his favour, the greatest honours that are usually paid to human virtue, testified their regard for him still more sensibly by the deepest sorrow. For it is said, that those who were in the action, neither put off their armour, nor unbridled their horses, nor bound up their wounds, after they heard that he was dead; but, notwithstanding their heat and fatigue, repaired to the body, as if it still had life and sense, piled round it the spoils of the enemy, and cut off their horses' manes and their own hair *. Many of them, when they retired to their tents, neither kindled a fire nor took any refreshment; but a melancholy silence reigned throughout the camp; as if, instead of gaining so great and glorious a victory, they had been worsted and enflamed by the tyrant.

When the news was carried to the towns, the magistrates, young men, children, and priests came out to meet the body, with trophies, crowns and golden armour: and when the time of his interment was come, some of the Thessalians who were venerable for their age, went and begged of the Thebans that they might have the honour of burying him. One of them expressed himself in these terms: "What

* A customary token of mourning among the ancients.

“ we request of you, our good allies, will be an honour
 “ and consolation to us under this great misfortune. It is
 “ not the living Pelopidas, whom the Thessalians desire to
 “ attend ; it is not to Pelopidas sensible of their gratitude,
 “ that they would now pay the due honours ; all we ask is
 “ the permission to wash, to adorn, and inter his dead body.
 “ And if we obtain this favour, we shall believe you are
 “ persuaded that we think our share in the common cala-
 “ mity greater than yours. You have lost only a good
 “ general, but we are so unhappy as to be deprived both
 “ of him and of our liberty. For how shall we presume
 “ to ask you for another general, when we have not re-
 “ spected to you Pelopidas ?”

The Thebans granted their request. And surely there never was a more magnificent funeral, at least in the opinion of those who do not place magnificence in ivory, gold, and purple ; as Philistus did, who dwells in admiration upon the funeral of Dionysius ; which, properly speaking, was nothing but the pompous catastrophe of that bloody tragedy, his tyranny. Alexander the Great, too, upon the death of Hephaestion, not only had the manes of the horses and mules shorn, but caused the battlements of the walls to be taken down, that the very cities might seem to mourn, by losing their ornaments, and having the appearance of being shorn and chastised with grief *. These things being the effects of arbitrary orders, executed through necessity, and attended both with envy of those for whom they are done, and hatred of those who command them, are not proofs of esteem and respect, but of barbaric pomp, of luxury, and vanity, in those who lavish their wealth to such vain and despicable purposes. But that a man who was only one of the subjects of a republic †, dying in a strange country, neither his wife, children, or kinsmen present, without the request or command of any one, should be attended home, conducted to the grave, and crowded by so many cities and tribes, might justly pass for an instance of the most perfect happiness. For the observation of Aesop is not true, that *Death is most unfortunate in the time of prosperity ; on the contrary, it is then most happy, since it secures to good men the glory of their virtuous actions, and puts them above the power of fortune.* The compliment, therefore, of the Spartan was much more rational, when embracing Diagoras, after

* εὐεργέτης.—

† διποτίκος.—

He and his sons and grandsons had all conquered and been crowned at the Olympic games, he said, *Die, die now, Diagoras, for thou canst not be a god**. And yet, I think, if a man should put all the victories in the Olympian and Pythian games together, he would not pretend to compare them with any one of the enterprises of Pelopidas, which were many and all successful; so that after he had flourished the greatest part of his life in honour and renown, and had been appointed the thirteenth time governor of Bœotia, he died in a great exploit, the consequence of which was the destruction of the tyrant, and the restoring of its liberties to Thebaly.

His death, as it gave the allies great concern, so it brought them still greater advantages. For the Thibals were no sooner informed of it, than prompted by a desire of revenge, they sent apoi that but one leuen thousand foot and leuen hundred horse, under the command of Malcites and Dogaton. These finding Alexander weakened with his late defeat, and reduced to great difficulties, compelled him to restore the cities he had taken from the Tebalians, to withdraw his garrisons from the territories of the Magnesians, the Phthiotis, and Achaeans, and to engage by oath to submit to the Thibals, and to keep his forces in readiness to execute their orders.

And here it is proper to relate the punishment which the gods inflicted upon him soon after, for his treatment of Pelopidas. He, as we have already mentioned, first taught Thebe, the tyrant's wife, not to dread the exterior pomp and splendour of his palace, though she lived in the midst of guards, consisting of exiles from other countries. She, therefore, fearing his falsehood, and hating his cruelty, agreed with her three brothers Tisippous, Pytholaus, and Lycophon, to take him off; and they put their design in execution after this manner. The whole palace was full of guards, who watched all the night, except the tyrant's bed-chamber, which was an upper-room, and the door of the apartment was guarded by a dog who was chained there, and who would fly at every body except his master and mistress; and one slave that fed him. When the time fixed for the attempt was come, Thebe concealed her brothers, before it was dark, in a room hard by. She went in alone, as usual, to Alexander, who was already asleep, but presently

* ΕΥΤΟΣ ΤΑΥΤΑΣ ΜΗΣ ΤΗΝ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΑΝ ΣΩΑΣ.

came out again, and ordered the slave to take away the dog, because her husband chose to sleep without being disturbed: and that the slaves might not break as the young men came up, she covered them with wool. She fetched up her brothers, and leaving them at the door with poniards in their hands, went into the chamber, and took away the tyrant's sword, which hung at the head of his bed, showed it them as a proof that he was fast asleep. The young men now being struck with terror, and not daring to advance, she reproached them with cowardice, and swore in her rage, that she would awake Alexander, and tell him the whole. Shame and fear having brought them to themselves, she led them in and placed them about the bed, herself holding the light. One of them caught him by the feet, and another by the hair of his head, while the third stabbed him with his poniard. Such a death was, perhaps, too speedy for so abominable a monster; but it be considered that he was the first tyrant who was assassinated by his own wife, and that his dead body was exposed to all kinds of indignities, and spurned and trodden under foot by his subjects, his punishment will appear to have been proportioned to his crimes.

MARCELLUS.

MARCUS Claudius, who was five times consul, was the son of Marcus; and, according to Posidonius, the first of his family that bore the surname of Marcellus, that is *Martial*. He had, indeed, a great deal of military experience; his make was strong, his arm almost irresistible, and he was naturally inclined to war. But though impetuous and lofty in the combat, on other occasions he was modest and humane. He was so far a lover of the Grecian learning and eloquence, as to honour and admire those that excelled in them, though his employments prevented his making that progress in them which he desired. For if Heaven ever designed that any men,

— in war's rude lists should combat,
From youth to age —

as Homer expresses it, certainly it was the principal Romans of those times. In their youth they had to contend with the Carthaginians for the island of Sicily, in their

much longer with the Gauls for Italy itself, and in their old age again with the Carthaginians and Numidians. Thus, even in age, they had not the common relaxation and repose, but were called forth by their birth and their merit to accept of military commands.

As for Marcellus, there was no kind of fighting in which he was not admirably well skilled; but in single combat he excelled himself. He, therefore, never refused a challenge, or failed of killing the challenger. In Sicily, seeing his brother Otacilius in great danger, he covered him with his shield, slew those that attacked him, and saved his life.--- For these things, he received from the generals crowns and other military honours, while but a youth; and his reputation increasing every day, the people appointed him to the office of *curule aedile*, and the priests to that of *augur*. This is a kind of sacerdotal function to which the law affords the care of that divination which is taken from the flight of birds.

* * * * *

After the first Carthaginian war¹, which had lasted twenty-two years, Rome was soon engaged in a new war with the Gauls. The Insubrians, a Celtic nation, who inhabit that part of Italy which lies at the foot of the Alps, though very powerful in themselves, called in the assistance of the Geates, a people of Gaul, who fight for pay on such occasions. It was a wonderful and fortunate thing for the Roman people, that the Gallic war did not break out at the same time with the Punic; and that the Gauls observing an exact neutrality all that time, as if they had waited to

¹ Plutarch is a little mistaken here in his chronology. The first Punic war lasted twenty-four years, for it began in the year of Rome four hundred and eighty-nine, and peace was made with the Carthaginians in the year five hundred and twelve. The Gauls continued quiet all that time, and did not begin to stir till four years after. Then they advanced to Ariminum; but the Boii mutinying against their leaders, slew the kings Ates and Galates; after which the Gauls fell upon each other, and numbers were slain; then that survived returned home. Five years after this, the Gauls began to prepare for a new war, on account of the division which Flaminius had made of the lands in the Picene, taken from the enemies of Galba Cisalpina. These preparations were carrying on a long time; and it was six years after that division, before the war began in earnest under their chiefs Congolitanus and Anerceites, when L. Emilius Paepus and C. Atilius Regulus were consuls, in the five hundred and twenty-eighth year of Rome, and the third year of the one hundred and thirty-eighth Olympiad. *Polyb.* 1. ii.

take up the conqueror, did not attack the Romans till they were victorious, and at leisure to receive them. However, this war was not a little alarming to the Romans, as well on account of the vicinity of the Gauls, as their character of old as warriors. They were, indeed, the enemy whom they dreaded most; for they had made themselves masters of Rome; and from that time it had been provided by law, that the priests should be exempted from bearing arms, except it were to defend the city against the Gauls.

The vast preparations they made were farther proofs of their fears (for it is said that so many thousands of Romans were never seen in arms either before or since); and so were the new and extraordinary sacrifices which they offered. On other occasions, they had not adopted the rites of barbarous and savage nations, but their religious customs had been agreeable to the mild and merciful ceremonies of the Greeks: yet on the appearance of this war, they were forced to comply with certain oracles found in the books of the Sibyls; and thereupon they buried two Greeks*, a man and a woman, and likewise two Gauls, one of each sex, alive in the beast-market. A thing that gave rise to certain private and mysterious rites, which still continue to be performed in the month of November.

In the beginning of the war the Romans sometimes gained great advantages, and sometimes were no less signally defeated; but there was no decisive action, till the consulate of Flaminus and Furius, who led a very powerful army against the Insubrians. Then we are told, the river which runs through the Picene, was seen flowing with blood, and that three moons appeared over the city of Ariminum. But the priests who were to observe the flight of birds at the time of choosing consuls, affirmed that the election was faulty and inauspicious. The senate, therefore, immediately sent letters to the camp, to recall the consuls, instructing that they should return without loss of time, and resign their office, and forbidding them to act at all against the enemy in consequence of their late appointment.

Flaminus having received these letters, deferred opening them till he had engaged and routed the barbarians †, and

* They offered the same sacrifice at the beginning of the second Punic war. *Liv. I. xxii. 5. 7.*

† Flaminus was not entitled to this success by his conduct. He gave battle with a river behind him, where there was not room for his

over-run their country. Therefore, when he returned, loaded with spoils, the people did not go out to meet him; and because he did not directly obey the order that recalled him, but treated it with contempt, he was in danger of losing his triumph. As soon as the triumph was over, both he and his colleague were deposed, and reduced to the rank of private citizens. So much regard had the Romans for religion, referring all their affairs to the good pleasure of the gods, and, in their greatest prosperity, not suffering any neglect of the forms of divination and other sacred usages; for they were fully persuaded, that it was a matter of greater importance to the preservation of their state to have their generals obedient to the gods, than even to have them victorious in the field.

To this purpose, the following story is remarkable:— Tiberius Sempronius, who was as much respected for his valour and probity as any man in Rome, while consul, named Scipio Nasica and Caius Marcius his successors. When they were gone into the provinces allotted them, Sempronius happening to meet with a book which contained the sacred regulations for the conduct of war*, found that there was one particular which he never knew before. It was this: “When the consul goes to take the auspices in a house or tent without the city, hired for that purpose, and is obliged by some necessary business to return into the city before any sure sign appears to him, he must not make use of that lodge again, but take another, and there begin his observations anew.” Sempronius was ignorant of this; when he named those two consuls, for he had twice made use of the same place; but when he perceived his error, he made the senate acquainted with it.

men to rally or retreat, if they had been broken. But probably he might make such a disposition of his forces, to show them that they must either conquer or die; for he knew that he was acting against the intentions of the senate, and that nothing but success could bring him off. Indeed, he was naturally rash and daring.

It was the skill and management of the legionary tribunes, which made amends for the consul's imprudence. They distributed among the soldiers of the first line the pikes of the Triarii, to prevent the enemy from making use of their swords; and when the first ardour of the Gauls was over, they ordered the Romans to shorten their swords, close with the enemy, so as to leave them no room to lift up their arms, and stab them: which they did without running any hazard themselves, the swords of the Gauls having no points.

* *EXACTISSIMIS INSTRUMENTIS.*

They, for their part, did not lightly pass over so small a defect, but wrote to the consuls about it; who left their provinces, and returned with all speed to Rome, where they laid down their offices. This did not happen till long after the affair of which we were speaking*.

But about that very time, two priests of the best families in Rome, Cornelius Cethegus and Quintus Sulpicius, were degraded from the priesthood; the former, because he did not present the entrails of the victim according to rule; and the latter, because as he was sacrificing, the trit of his cap, which was such an one as the *flamines* wear, fell off. And because the squeaking of a rat happened to be heard, at the moment that Minucius the dictator appointed Caius Flaminius his general of horse, the people obliged them to quit their posts, and appointed others in their stead. But while they observed these small matters with such exactness, they gave not into any sort of superstition †, for they neither changed nor went beyond the ancient ceremonies.

Flaminus and his colleague being deposed from the consulship, the magistrates, called *Interreges* ‡, nominated Marcellus to that high office; who, when he entered upon it, took Cneius Cornelius for his colleague. Though the Gauls are said to have been disposed to a reconciliation, and the senate was peaceably inclined, yet the people, at the instigation of Marcellus, were for war. However, a peace was concluded; which seems to have been broke by the *Gesatæ*, who having passed the Alps, with thirty thousand men, prevailed with the *Insubrians* to join them with much greater numbers. Elated with their strength, they marched immediately to *Acerræ* ||, a city on the banks of the *Po*. There *Viridomarus*, king of the *Gesatæ*, took ten thousand men from the main body, and with this party laid waste all the country about the river.

When Marcellus was informed of their march, he left his colleague before *Acerræ*, with all the heavy-armed in-

* Sixty years after.

† This word is here used in the literal sense.

‡ These were officers, who, when there were no legal magistrates in being, were appointed to hold the *comitia* for electing new ones. The title of *Interreges*, which was given them while the government was regal, was continued to them under the commonwealth.

|| The Romans were besieging *Acerræ*, and the Gauls went to relieve it; but finding themselves unable to do that, they passed the *Po* with part of their army, and laid siege to *Clastidium* to make a diversion. *Polyb.* 1. ii.

foot, and the third part of the horse ; and taking with him the rest of the cavalry, and about six hundred of the best armed foot, he set out, and kept forward day and night, till he came up with the ten thousand Gauls near Clastidium *, a little town of the Gauls, which had very lately submitted to the Romans. He had not time to give his troops any rest or refreshment ; for the barbarians immediately perceived his approach, and despised his attempt, as he had but a handful of infantry, and they made no account of his cavalry. There, as well as all the other Gauls, being skilled in fighting on horseback, thought they had the advantage in this respect ; and, besides, they greatly exceeded Marcellus in numbers. They marched, therefore, directly against him, their king at their head, with great impetuosity and dreadful menaces, as if sure of crushing him at once. Marcellus, because his party was but small, to prevent its being surrounded, extended the wings of his cavalry, thinning and widening the line, till he presented a front nearly equal to that of the enemy. He was now advancing to the charge, when his horse, terrified with the shouts of the Gauls, turned short, and forcibly carried him back. Marcellus fearing that this, interpreted by superstition, should cause some disorder in his troops, quickly turned his horse again towards the enemy, and then paid his adorations to the sun ; as if that movement had been made, not by accident but design, for the Romans always turn round when they worship the gods. Upon the point of engaging, he vowed to Jupiter *Feretrius* the choicest of the enemy's arms. In the mean time, the king of the Gauls spied him, and judging by the ensigns of authority that he was the consul, he set spurs to his horse, and advanced a considerable way before the rest, brandishing his spear, and loudly challenging him to the combat. He was distinguished from the rest of the Gauls by his stature, as well as by his armour, which, being set off with gold and silver, and the most lively colours, shone like lightning. As Marcellus was viewing the disposition of the enemy's forces, he cast his eyes upon this rich suit of armour, and concluding that in it his vow to Jupiter would be accomplished, he rushed upon the Gaul, and pierced his breast-plate with his spear ; which stroke, together with the weight and force of the consul's horse, brought him to the ground, and with two

* Livy places this town in Liguria Montana.

or three more blows he dispatched him. He then leapt from his horse and disarmed him, and lifting up his hands towards heaven, he said, "O Jupiter *Flaminus*, who dost servest the deeds of great warriors and generals in battle, "I now call thee to witness, that I am the third Roman consul and general who have, with my own hands, "a general and a king! To thee I consecrate the excellent spoils. Do thou grant us equal success in the prosecution of this war."

When this prayer was ended, the Roman cavalry encountered both the enemy's horse and foot at the same time, and gained a victory; not only great in itself, but peculiar in its kind: for we have no account of such a grand cavalry-beating such numbers, both of horse and foot, either before or since. Marcellus having killed the greater part of the enemy, and taken their arms and baggage, returned to his colleague*, who had no such good success against the Gauls before Milan, which is a great and populous city, and the metropolis of that country. For this reason the Gauls defended it with such spirit and resolution, that Scipio, instead of besieging it, seemed rather besieged himself. But upon the return of Marcellus, the Gauls, understanding that their king was slain, and his army defeated, drew off their forces; and so Milan was taken†; and the Gauls surrendering the rest of their cities, and referring every thing to the equity of the Romans, obtained reasonable conditions of peace.

The senate decreed a triumph to Marcellus only; and, whether we consider the rich spoils that were displayed in it, the prodigious size of the captives, or the magnificence with which the whole was conducted, it was one of the most splendid that were ever seen. But the most agreeable and most uncommon spectacle was Marcellus himself, carrying the armour of Viridomarus, which he vowed to Jupiter. He had cut the trunk of an oak in the form of a trophy, which he adorned with the spoils of that barbarian, placing every part of his arms in handsome order. When the procession began to move, he mounted his chariot, which was drawn by four horses, and passed through the city with

* During the absence of Marcellus, Accra had been taken by his colleague Scipio, who from thence had marched to invest Mediolanum, or Milan.

† Comum, also, another city of great importance, surrendered. Thus all Italy, from the Alps to the Ionian sea, became entirely Roman.

the trophy on his shoulders, which was the noblest ornament of the whole triumph. The army followed, clad in elegant armour, and singing odes composed for that occasion, and other songs of triumph, in honour of Jupiter and their general.

When he came to the temple of Jupiter *Feretrius*, he set up and consecrated the trophy, being the third and last general, who as yet has been so gloriously distinguished. The first was Romulus, after he had slain Acron, king of the Cænites; Cornelius Cossus, who slew Volumnius the Tuscan, was the second; and the third and last was Marcellus, who killed with his own hand Viridomarus king of the Gauls. The god to whom these spoils were devoted, was Jupiter, surnamed *Feretrius*, (as some say,) from the Greek word *Pheritron*, which signifies a car, for the trophy was borne on such a carriage, and the Greek language at that time was much mixed with the Latin. Others say, Jupiter had that appellation, because he *strikes with lightning*, for the Latin word *ferire* signifies to *strike*. Others again will have it, that it is on account of the strokes which are given in battle; for even now, when the Romans charge or pursue an enemy, they encourage each other by calling out, *feri, feri, strike, strike them down*. What they take from the enemy in the field, they call by the general name of *spoils*, but those which a Roman general takes from the general of the enemy, they call *opine spoils*. It is indeed said, that Numa Pompilius, in his Commentaries, makes mention of *opine spoils* of the first, second, and third order: that he directed the first to be consecrated to Jupiter, the second to Mars, and the third to Quirinus; and that the persons who took the first should be rewarded with three hundred *ases*, the second, with two hundred, and the third, with one hundred. But the most received opinion is, that those of the first sort only should be honoured with the name of *opine*, which a general takes in a pitched battle, when he kills the enemy's general with his own hand. But enough of this matter.

The Romans thought themselves so happy in the glorious period put to this war, that they made an offering to Apollo at Delphi, of a golden cup, in testimony of their gratitude: they also liberally shared the spoils with the confederate cities, and made a very handsome present out of them to Hiero king of Syracuse, their friend and ally.

Some time after this, Hannibal having entered Italy, Marcellus was sent with a fleet to Sicily. The war conti-

nued to rage, and that unfortunate blow was received at Cannæ, by which many thousands of Romans fell. The few that escaped, fled to Canusium; and it was expected that Hannibal, who had thus destroyed the strength of the Roman forces, would march directly to Rome. Hereupon, Marcellus first sent fifteen hundred of his men to guard the city; and afterwards by order of the senate, he went to Canusium, drew out the troops that had retired thither, and marched at their head to keep the country from being ravaged by the enemy.

The wars had by this time carried off the chief of the Roman nobility, and most of their best officers. Still, indeed, there remained Fabius Maximus, a man highly respected for his probity and prudence; but his extraordinary attention to the avoiding of loss, passed for want of spirit and incapacity for action. The Romans, therefore, considering him as a proper person for the defensive, but not the offensive part of war, had recourse to Marcellus; and wisely tempering his boldness and activity with the slow and cautious conduct of Fabius, they sometimes appointed them consuls together, and sometimes sent out the one in the quality of consul, and the other in that of proconsul. Posidonius tells us, that Fabius was called *the buckler*, and Marcellus *the sword*: but Hannibal himself said, “ He stood in fear of Fabius as his schoolmaster, and of Marcellus as his adversary; for he received hurt from the latter, and the former prevented his doing hurt himself.”

Hannibal's soldiers, elated with their victory, grew careless, and straggling from the camp, roamed about the country; where Marcellus fell upon them, and cut off great numbers. After this, he went to the relief of Naples and Nola. The Neapolitans he confirmed in the Roman interest, to which they were themselves well inclined: but when he entered Nola, he found great divisions there, the senate of that city being unable to restrain the commonalty who were attached to Hannibal. There was a citizen in this place named Bandius*, well born and celebrated for his valour: for he greatly distinguished himself in the battle of Cannæ, where, after killing a number of Carthaginians, he was found at last upon a heap of dead bodies, covered with wounds. Hannibal admiring his bravery, dismissed him not only without ransom, but with handsome presents;

* Or Bantius.

honoring him with his friendship and admission to the rights of hospitality. Bandius, in gratitude for these favors, heartily espoused the party of Hannibal, and by his authority drew the people on to a revolt. Marcellus thought it wrong to put a man to death, who had gloriously fought the battles of Rome. Besides, the general had to conceive a manner grafted upon his native humanity, that he could hardly fail of attracting the regards of a man of a great and generous spirit. One day, Bandius happening to salute him, Marcellus asked who he was: not that he was a stranger to his person, but that he might have an opportunity to introduce what he had to say. Being told, his name was Lucius Bandius, "What!" says Marcellus, in strong admiration, "that Bandius who has been so much talked of in Rome for his gallant behaviour at Cannæ, who indeed was the only man that did not abandon the general Scipio, but received in his own body most of the shafts that were aimed at him!" Bandius saying, "I was the very person," and showing some of his scars, "Why then," replied Marcellus, "when you bore about so much marks of your regard for us, did not you come to us one of the first? Do we seem to you slow to reward the virtue of a friend, who is honoured even by his enemies?" After this obliging discourse, he embraced him, and made him a present of a war-horse, and five hundred drachmas in silver.

From this time Bandius was very cordially attached to Marcellus, and constantly informed him of the proceedings of the opposite party, who were very numerous, and who had revolted, when the Romans marched out against the city, to plunder their baggage. Herenpon Marcellus drew up his forces in order of battle within the city, placed the baggage near the gates, and published an edict, forbidding the inhabitants to appear upon the walls. Hannibal seeing no hostile appearance, concluded that every thing was in great disorder in the city, and therefore he reproached it with little precaution. At this moment Marcellus commanded the gate that was next him to be opened, and sallying out with the best of his cavalry, he charged the enemy in front. Soon after, the infantry rushed out at another gate with loud shouts. And while Hannibal was dividing his forces, to oppose these two parties, a third gate was opened, and the rest of the Roman troops issuing out, attacked the enemy on another side,

who were greatly disconcerted at such an unexpected fall, and who made but a faint resistance against those with whom they were first engaged, by reason of their being fallen upon by another body.

Then it was that Hannibal's men, struck with terror, and covered with wounds, first gave back before the Romans, and were driven to their camp. Above five thousand of them are said to have been slain, whereas of the Romans there fell not more than five hundred. Livy does not, indeed, make this defeat and loss on the Carthaginian side to have been so considerable; he only affirms that Marcellus gained great honour by this battle, and that the courage of the Romans was wonderfully restored after all their misfortunes, who now no longer believed that they had to do with an enemy that was invincible, but one who was liable to suffer in his turn.

For this reason, the people called Marcellus, though absent, to fill the place of one of the consuls* who was dead, and prevailed, against the sense of the magistrates, to have the election put off till his return. Upon his arrival, he was unanimously chosen consul: but it happening to thunder at that time, the augurs saw that the omen was unfortunate; and, as they did not choose to declare it such, for fear of the people†, Marcellus voluntarily laid down the office. Notwithstanding this, he had the command of the army continued to him, in quality of proconsul, and returned immediately to Nola, from whence he made excursions to chastise those that had declivied for the Carthaginians. Hannibal made haste to their assistance, and offered him battle, which he declined. But some days after, when he saw that Hannibal, no longer expecting a battle, had sent out the greatest part of his army to plunder

* This was Posthumius Albinus, who was cut off with all his army by the Boii, in a vast forest called by the Gauls the forest of Litana. It seems they had cut all the trees near the road he was to pass in such a manner that they might be tumbled upon his army with the least motion.

† Marcellus was a plebeian, as was also his colleague Sempronius; and the patricians, unwilling to see two plebeians consuls at the same time, influenced the augurs to pronounce the election of Marcellus disagreeable to the gods. But the people would not have acquiesced in the declaration of the augurs, had not Marcellus shewed himself on this occasion as zealous a republican, as he was a great commander, and refused that honour which had not the sanction of all his fellow-citizens.

the country, he attacked him vigorously, having first provided the foot with long spears, such as they use in sea-fights, which they were taught to hurl at the Carthaginians at a distance, who, for their part, were not skilled in the use of the javelin, and only fought hand to hand, with short swords. For this reason all that attempted to make head against the Romans, were obliged to give way, and fly in great confusion, leaving five thousand men slain upon the field*; besides the loss of four elephants killed, and two taken. What was of still greater importance, the third day after the battle †, above three hundred horse, Spaniards and Numidians, came over to Marcellus. A misfortune which never before happened to Hannibal; for though his army was collected from several barbarous nations, different both in their manners and their language, yet he had a long time preserved a perfect unanimity throughout the whole. This body of horse ever continued faithful to Marcellus, and those that succeeded him in the command ‡.

Marcellus, being appointed consul the third time, passed over into Sicily ||. For Hannibal's great success had encouraged the Carthaginians again to support their claim to that island: and they did it the rather, because the affairs of Syracuse were in some confusion upon the death of Hieronymus §, its sovereign. On this account the Romans had already sent an army thither under the command of Appius Claudius **.

* On the Roman side there were not a thousand killed. *Liv.* lib. xxiii. c. 46.

† Livy makes them a thousand two hundred and seventy-two. It is therefore probable that we should read in this place, *one thousand three hundred horse*.

‡ Marcellus beat Hannibal a third time before Nola; and had Claudius Nero, who was sent out to take a circuit, and attack the Carthaginians in the rear, come up in time, that day would probably have been retributed for the loss sustained at Cannæ. *Liv.* lib. xxiv. c. 17.

|| In the second year of the hundred and forty-first Olympiad, or five hundred and thirty-ninth of Rome, and two hundred and twelve years before the birth of Christ.

§ Hieronymus was murdered by his own subjects at Leontini, the conspirators having prevailed on Dinomarus, one of his guards, to favour their attack. He was the son of Gelo, and the grandson of Hiero. His father Gelo died first, and afterwards his grandfather, being ninety years old; and Hieronymus, who was not then fifteen, was slain some months after. These three deaths happened towards the latter end of the year that preceded Marcellus's third consulate.

** Appius Claudius, who was sent into Sicily in quality of prætor, was there before the death of Hieronymus. That young prince, having

The command devolving upon Marcellus, he was no sooner arrived in Sicily, than a great number of Romans came to throw themselves at his feet, and represent to him their distress. Of those that fought against Hannibal at Cannæ, some escaped by flight, and others were taken prisoners; the latter in such numbers, that it was thought the Romans must want men to defend the walls of their capital. Yet that commonwealth had so much firmness and elevation of mind, that, though Hannibal offered to release the prisoners for a very inconsiderable ransom, they refused it by a public act, and left them to be put to death or sold out of Italy. As for those that had saved themselves by flight, they sent them into Sicily, with an order not to set foot on Italian ground during the war with Hannibal. These came to Marcellus in a body, and falling on their knees, begged with loud lamentations and floods of tears, the favour of being admitted again into the army, promising to make it appear by their future behaviour, that that defeat was owing to their misfortune, and not to their cowardice. Marcellus, moved with compassion, wrote to the senate, desiring leave to recruit his army with these exiles, as he should find occasion. After much deliberation, the senate signified by a decree, "That the commonwealth had no need of the service of cowards: that Marcellus, however, might employ them if he pleased, but on condition that he did not bestow upon any of them crowns or other honorary rewards." This decree gave Marcellus some meanness, and after his return from the war in Sicily, he expostulated with the senate, and complained, "That for all his services they would not allow him to rescue from infamy those unfortunate citizens."

His first care, after he arrived in Sicily, was to make reprisals for the injury received from Hippocrates, the Syracusan general, who, to gratify the Carthaginians, and by their means to set himself up tyrant, had attacked the

a turn for raillery, only laughed at the Roman ambassadors: "I will ask you," said he, "but one question; who were conquerors at Cannæ, you or the Carthaginians? I am told such surprising things of that battle, that I should be glad to know all the particulars of it." And again, "Let the Romans restore all the gold, the corn, and the other presents that they drew from my grandfather, and consent that the river Himera be the common boundary between us, and I will renew the ancient treaties with them." Some writers are of opinion that the Roman prætor was not entirely unconcerned in a plot which was so useful to his republic.

Romans, and killed great numbers of them, in the district of Leontium. Marcellus, therefore, laid siege to that city, and took it by storm, but did no harm to the inhabitants; only such deserters as he found there, he ordered to be beaten with rods, and then put to death. Hippocrates took care to give the Syracusans the first notice of the taking of Leontium, assuring them, at the same time, that Marcellus had put to the sword all that were able to bear arms; and while they were under great consternation at this news, he came suddenly upon the city, and made himself master of it.

Hereupon, Marcellus marched with his whole army, and encamped before Syracuse. But before he attempted any thing against it, he sent ambassadors with a true account of what he had done at Leontium. As this information had no effect with the Syracusans, who were entirely in the power of Hippocrates *, he made his attacks both by sea and land, Appius Claudius commanding the land-forces, and himself the fleet, which consisted of sixty galleys, of five banks of oars, full of all sorts of arms and missile weapons. Besides these, he had a prodigious machine, carried upon eight galleys fastened together, with which he approached the walls, relying upon the number of his batteries and other instruments of war, as well as on his own great character. But Archimedes despised all this; and confided in the superiority of his engines; though he did not think the inventing of them an object worthy of his serious studies, but only reckoned them among the amusements of geometry. Nor had he gone so far, but at the pressing instances of king Hiero, who entreated him to turn his art from abstracted notions, to matters of sense, and to make his reasonings more intelligible to the generality of mankind, applying them to the uses of common life.

The first that turned their thoughts to *mechanics*, a branch of knowledge which came afterwards to be so much admired, were Eudoxus and Archytas, who thus gave a variety and an agreeable turn to geometry, and confirmed certain problems by sensible experiments, and the use of instruments,

* Hieronymus being assassinated, and the commonwealth restored, Hippocrates and Epicydes, Hannibal's agents, being of Syracusan extraction, had the address to get themselves admitted into the number of praetors. In consequence of which, they found means to embroil the Syracusans with Rome, in spite of the opposition of such of the praetors as had the interest of their country at heart.

which could not be demonstrated in the way of theorem. That problem, for example, of two mean proportional lines, which cannot be found out geometrically, and yet are so necessary for the solution of other questions, they solved mechanically, by the assistance of certain instruments called *mesolabes*, taken from conic sections. But when Plato inveighed against them, with great indignation, as corrupting and debasing the excellence of geometry, by making her descend from incorporeal and intellectual, to corporeal and sensible things, and obliging her to make use of matter, which requires much manual labour, and is the object of servile trades; then *mechanics* were separated from geometry, and being a long time despised by the philosopher, were considered as a branch of the military art.

Be that as it may, Archimedes one day asserted to king Hiero, whose kinsman and friend he was, this proposition, that with a given power he could move any given weight whatever; nay, it is said, from the confidence he had in his demonstration, he ventured to affirm, that if there was another earth besides this we inhabit*, by going into that, he would move this wherever he pleased. Hiero, full of wonder, begged of him to evince the truth of his proposition, by moving some great weight with a small power. In compliance with which, Archimedes caused one of the king's galleys to be drawn on shore with many hands and much labour; and having well manned her, and put on board her usual loading, he placed himself at a distance, and without any pains, only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which consisted of a variety of ropes and pulleys, he drew her to him in as smooth and gentle a manner as if she had been under sail. The king quite astonished when he saw the force of his art, prevailed with Archimedes to make for him all manner of engines and machines which could be used either for attack or defence in a siege. These, however, he never made use of, the greatest part of his reign being blest with tranquillity; but they were extremely serviceable to the Syracusans on the present occasion, who, with such a number of machines, had the inventor to direct them.

When the Romans attacked them both by sea and land, they were struck dumb with terror, imagining they could

* Tzetes gives us the expression which Archimedes made use of, *τῷ έστι, καὶ χαρισματικῷ τεντρῷ καὶ πονῷ τερπεῖ*.

not possibly resist such numerous forces and so furious an assault. But Archimedes soon began to play his engines, and they shot against the land forces all sorts of missive weapons and stones of an enormous size, with so incredible a noise and rapidity, that nothing could stand before them ; they overturned and crushed whatever came in their way, and spread terrible disorder throughout the ranks. On the side towards the sea were erected vast machines, putting forth on a sudden, over the walls, huge beams with the necessary tackle*, which striking with a prodigious force on the enemy's galleys, sunk them at once : while other ships hoisted up at the prows by iron grapples or hooks †, like the beaks of cranes, and set an end on the stern, were plunged to the bottom of the sea : and others again, by ropes and grapples were drawn towards the shore, and after being whirled about, and dashed against the rocks that projected below the walls, were broken to pieces, and the crews perished. Very often a ship lifted high above the sea, suspended and twirling in the air, presented a most dreadful spectacle. There it swung till the men were thrown out by the violence of the motion, and then it split against the walls, or sunk on the engine's letting go its hold. As for the machine which Marcellus brought forward upon eight galleys, and which was called *sambuca* on account of its likeness to the musical instrument of that name, whilst it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes discharged a stone of ten talents weight ‡, and

* *Kepseus.*

† What most harassed the Romans, was a sort of crow with two claws, fastened to a long chain, which was let down by a kind of lever. The weight of the iron made it fall, with great violence, and drove it into the planks of the galleys. Then the besieged, by a great weight of lead at the other end of the lever, weighed it down, and consequently raised up the iron of the crow in proportion, and with it the prow of the galley to which it was fastened, sinking the poop at the same time into the water. After this the crow letting go its hold all on a sudden, the prow of the galley fell with such force into the sea, that the whole vessel was filled with water, and sunk.

‡ It is not easy to conceive, how the machines formed by Archimedes could throw stones of ten quintals or talents, that is, twelve hundred and fifty pounds weight, at the ships of Marcellus, when they were at a considerable distance from the walls. The account which Polybius give us, is much more probable. He says, that the stones that were thrown by the *baliste* made by Archimedes, were of the weight of ten pounds. Livy seems to agree with Polybius. Indeed, if we suppose that Plutarch did not mean the talent of an hundred and twenty-five

after that a second and a third, all which striking upon it with an amazing noise and force, shattered and totally disjointed it.

Marcellus, in this distress, drew off his galleys as fast as possible, and sent orders to the land forces to retreat likewise. He then called a council of war, in which it was resolved, to come close to the walls, if it was possible, next morning before day. For Archimedes's engines they thought, being very strong, and intended to act at a considerable distance, would then discharge themselves over their heads; and if they were pointed at them when they were so near, they would have no effect. But for this Archimedes had long been prepared, having by him engines fitted to all distances, with suitable weapons and shorter beams. Besides, he had caused holes to be made in the walls, in which he placed *scorpions*, that did not carry far, but could be very fast discharged; and by these the enemy was galled, without knowing whence the weapon came.

When, therefore, the Romans were got close to the walls, undiscovered, as they thought, they were welcomed with a shower of darts, and huge pieces of rocks, which fell as it were perpendicularly upon their heads; for the engines played from every quarter of the walls. This obliged them to retire; and when they were at some distance, other shafts were shot at them, in their retreat, from the larger machines, which made terrible havock among them, as well as greatly damaged their shipping, without any possibility of their annoying the Syracusans in their turn. For Archimedes had placed most of his engines under covert of the walls; so that the Romans, being infinitely distressed by an invisible enemy, seemed to fight against the gods.

Marcellus, however, got off, and laughed at his own artillery-men and engineers. "Why do not we leave off contending," said he, "with this mathematical Briareus, who sitting on the shore, and acting as it were but in jest, has shamefully baffled our naval assault; and, in striking us with such a multitude of bolts at once, exceeds even the hundred-handed giants in the fable?" And, in truth, all the rest of the Syracusans were no more than the body in the batteries of Archimedes, while he himself was

pounds, but the talent of Sicily, which some say weighed twenty-five pounds, and others only ten, his account comes more within the bounds of probability.

the informing foul. All other weapons lay idle and unemployed ; his were the only offensive and defensive arms of the city. At last the Romans were so terrified, that if they saw but a rope or a stick put over the walls, they cried out that Archimedes was levelling some machine at them, and turned their backs and fled. Marcellas seeing this, gave up all thoughts of proceeding by assault, and leaving the matter to time, turned the siege into a blockade.

Yet Archimedes had such a depth of understanding, such a dignity of sentiment, and so copious a fund of mathematical knowledge, that, though in the invention of these machines he gained the reputation of a man endowed with divine rather than human knowledge, yet he did not vouchsafe to leave any account of them in writing. For he considered all attention to *mechanics*, and every art that ministers to common uses, as mean and sordid, and placed his whole delight in those intellectual speculations, which, without any relation to the necessities of life, have an intrinsic excellence arising from truth and demonstration only. Indeed, if mechanical knowledge is valuable for the curious frame and amazing power of those machines which it produces, the other infinitely excels on account of its invincible force and conviction. And certainly it is, that abstruse and profound questions in geometry, are no where solved by a more simple process and upon clearer principles, than in the writings of Archimedes. Some ascribe this to the acuteness of his genius, and others to his indefatigable industry, by which he made things that cost a great deal of pains, appear unlaboured and easy. In fact, it is almost impossible for a man of himself to find out the demonstration of his propositions, but as soon as he has learned it from him, he will think he could have done it without assistance ; such a ready and easy way does he lead us to what he wants to prove. We are not, therefore, to reject as incredible, what is related of him, that being perpetually charmed by a domestic siren, that is, his geometry, he neglected his meat and drink, and took no care of his person ; that he was often carried by force to the baths, and when there, he would make mathematical figures in the ashes, and with his finger draw lines upon his body, when it was anointed ; so much was he transported with intellectual delight, such an enthusiast in science. And though he was the author of many curious and excellent discoveries,

yet he is said to have desired his friends only to place on his tomb-stone a cylinder containing a sphere *, and to set down the proportion which the containing solid bears to the contained. Such was Archimedes, who exerted all his skill to defend himself and the town against the Romans.

During the siege of Syracuse, Marcellus went against Megara, one of the most ancient cities of Sicily, and took it. He also fell upon Hippocrates, as he was entrenching himself at Acriæ, and killed above eight thousand of his men †. Nay, he over-ran the greatest part of Sicily, brought over several cities from the Carthaginian interest, and beat all that attempted to face him in the field.

Some time after, when he returned to Syracuse, he surprised one Damippus a Spartan, as he was sailing out of the harbour ; and the Syracusans being very desirous to ransom him, several conferences were held about it ; in one of which Marcellus took notice of a tower, but slightly guarded, into which a number of men might be privately conveyed, the wall that led to it being easy to be scaled. As they often met to confer at the foot of this tower, he made a good estimate of its height, and provided himself with proper scaling-ladders : and observing that on the festival of Diana the Syracusans drank freely and gave a loose to mirth, he not only possessed himself of the tower,

* Cicero, when he was quæstor in Sicily, discovered this monument, and shewed it to the Syracusans, who knew not that it was in being. He says there were verses inscribed upon it, expressing that a cylinder and a sphere had been put upon the tomb ; the proportion between which two solids Archimedes first discovered. From the death of this great mathematician, which fell out in the year of Rome five hundred and forty-two, to the quæstorship of Cicero, which was in the year of Rome six hundred and seventy-eight, an hundred and thirty-six years were elapsed. Though time had not quite obliterated the cylinder and the sphere, it had put an end to the learning of Syracuse, once respectable in the republic of letters.

† Himilco had entered the port of Heraclea with a numerous fleet sent from Carthage, and landed twenty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and twelve elephants. His forces were no sooner set ashore, than he marched against Agrigentum, which he retook from the Romans, with several other cities lately reduced by Marcellus. Hereupon the Syracusan garrison, which was yet entire, determined to send out Hippocrates with ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, to join Himilco. Marcellus, after having made a vain attempt upon Agrigentum, was returning to Syracuse. As he drew near Acriæ, he unexpectedly discovered Hippocrates busy in fortifying his camp, fell upon him before he had time to draw up his army, and cut eight thousand of them in pieces.

undiscovered, but before day-light filled the walls of that quarter with soldiers, and forcibly entered the Hexapylum. The Syracusans, as soon as they perceived it, began to move about in great confusion; but Marcellus ordering all the trumpets to sound at once, they were seized with consternation, and betook themselves to flight, believing that the whole city was lost. However, the Achradina, which was the strongest, the most extensive, and fairest part of it, was not taken, being divided by walls from the rest of the city, one part of which was called Neapolis, and the other Tyche. The enterprise thus prospering, Marcellus at day-break moved down from the Hexapylum into the city, where he was congratulated by his officers on the great event*. But it is said, that he himself, when he surveyed from an eminence that great and magnificent city, shed many tears, in pity of its impending fate, reflecting into what a scene of misery and desolation its fair appearance would be changed, when it came to be sacked and plundered by the soldiers. For the troops demanded the plunder, and not one of the officers durst oppose it. Many even insisted that the city should be burnt and levelled with the ground; but to this Marcellus absolutely refused his consent. It was with reluctance that he gave up the effects and the slaves; and he strictly charged the soldiers not to touch any free man or woman, not to kill, or abuse, or make a slave of any citizen whatever.

But though he acted with so much moderation, the city had harder measure than he wished, and amidst the great and general joy, his soul sympathized with its sufferings, when he considered that in a few hours the prosperity of such a flourishing state would be no more. It is even said, that the plunder of Syracuse was as rich as that of Carthage after it †. For the rest of the city was soon betrayed to the

* Epipolæ was entered in the night, and Tyche next morning. Epipolæ was encompassed with the same wall as Ortygia, Achradina, Tyche, and Neapolis; had its own citadel called Euryalum on the top of a steep rock, and was, as we may say, a fifth city.

† The siege of Syracuse lasted in the whole three years; no small part of which passed after Marcellus entered Tyche. As Plutarch has run so lightly over the subsequent events, it may not be amiss to give a summary detail of them from Livy.

Epicydes, who had his head-quarters in the farthest part of Ortygia, hearing that the Romans had seized on Epipolæ and Tyche, went to drive them from their posts; but finding much greater numbers than

Romans, and pillaged ; only the royal treasure was preserved, and carried into the public treasury at Rome.

But what most of all afflicted Marcellus, was the unhappy fate of Archimedes ; who was at that time in his study, engaged in some mathematical researches ; and his mind, as well as his eye, was so intent upon his diagram, that he

he expected, got into the town, after a slight skirmish he retired. Marcellus, unwilling to destroy the city, tried gentle methods with the inhabitants ; but the Syracusans rejected his proposals ; and their general appointed the Roman deserters to guard Achradina, which they did with extreme care, knowing, that if the town were taken by composition they must die. Marcellus then turned his arms against the fortresses of Euryalum, which he hoped to reduce in a short time by famine. Philodemus, who commanded there, kept him in play some time, in hope of succours from Hippocrates and Himilco ; but finding himself disappointed, he surrendered the place on condition of being allowed to march out with his men, and join Epicydes. Marcellus, now master of Euryalum, blocked up Achradina so close, that it could not hold out long without new supplies of men and provisions. But Hippocrates and Himilco soon arrived ; and it was resolved that Hippocrates should attack the old camp of the Romans without the walls, commanded by Crispinus, while Epicydes assailed upon Marcellus. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him up to his entrenchments ; and Epicydes was forced to return into Achradina with great loss, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by Marcellus. The unfortunate Syracusans were now in the greatest distress for want of provisions ; and to complete their misery, a plague broke out among them ; of which Himilco and Hippocrates died, with many thousands more. Hereupon Bonillear failed to Carthage again for fresh supplies ; and returned to Sicily with a large fleet ; but hearing of the great preparations of the Romans at sea, and probably fearing the event of a battle, he unexpectedly steered away. Epicydes, who was gone out to meet him, was afraid to return into a city half taken, and therefore fled for refuge to Agrigentum. The Syracusans then assassinated the governors left by Epicydes, and proposed to submit to Marcellus. For which purpose they sent deputies, who were graciously received. But the garrison, which consisted of Roman deserters and mercenaries, raising fresh disturbances, killed the officers appointed by the Syracusans, and chose six new ones of their own. Among these was a Spaniard named Mexicus, a man of great integrity, who disapproving of the cruelties of his party, determined to give up the place to Marcellus. In pursuance of which, under pretences of greater care than ordinary, he desired that each governor might have the sole direction in his own quarter, which gave him an opportunity to open the gate of Arctufa to the Roman general. And now Marcellus being at length become master of the unfaithful city, gave signal proofs of his clemency and good-nature. He suffered the Roman deserters to escape ; for he was unwilling to shed the blood even of traitors. No wonder then if he spared the lives of the Syracusans and their children ; though, as he told them, the services which good king Hiero had rendered Rome, were exceeded by the insults they had offered her in a few years.

Neither heard the tumultuous noise of the Romans, nor perceived that the city was taken. A soldier suddenly entered his room, and ordered him to follow him to Marcellus; and Archimedes refusing to do it, till he had finished his problem, and brought his demonstration to bear, the soldier, in a passion, drew his sword and killed him. Others say, the soldier came up to him at first with a drawn sword to kill him, and Archimedes perceiving him, begged he would hold his hand a moment, that he might not leave his theorem imperfect; but the soldier, neither regarding him nor his theorem, laid him dead at his feet. A third account of the matter is, that, as Archimedes was carrying in a box some mathematical instruments to Marcellus, as sun-dials, spheres, and quadrants, by which the eye might measure the magnitude of the sun, some soldiers met him, and imagining that there was gold in the box, took away his life for it. It is agreed, however, on all hands, that Marcellus was much concerned at his death; that he turned away his face from his murderer, as from an impious and execrable person; and that having by inquiry found out his relations, he bestowed upon them many signal favours.

Hitherto the Romans had shown other nations their abilities to plan, and their courage to execute, but they had given them no proof of their clemency, their humanity, or, in one word, of their political virtue. Marcellus seems to have been the first, who made it appear, to the Greeks, that the Romans had greater regard to equity than they. For such was his goodness to those that addressed him, and so many benefits did he confer upon cities as well as private persons, that if Enna, Megara, and Syracuse were treated harshly, the blame of that severity was rather to be charged on the sufferers themselves, than on those who chastised them.

I shall mention one of the many instances of this great man's moderation. There is in Sicily a town called Engium, not large, indeed, but very ancient, and celebrated for the appearance of the goddesses called the *Mothers* *. The temple is said to have been built by the Cretans, and they show some spears and brazen helmets, inscribed with the names of Meriones and Ulysses, who consecrated them to those goddesses. This town was strongly inclined to

* These are supposed to be Cybele, Juno, and Ceres. Cicero mentions a temple of Cybele at Engium.

favour the Carthaginians; but Nicias, one of its principal inhabitants, endeavoured to persuade them to go over to the Romans, declaring his sentiments freely in their public assemblies, and proving that his opposers consulted not their true interests. These men fearing his authority and the influence of his character, resolved to carry him off and put him in the hands of the Carthaginians. Nicias, apprised of it, took measures for his security, without seeming to do so. He publicly gave out unbecoming speeches against the *Mothers*, as if he disbelieved and made light of the received opinion concerning the presence of those goddesses there. Meantime, his enemies rejoiced that he himself furnished them with sufficient reasons for the worst they could do to him. On the day which they had fixed for seizing him, there happened to be an assembly of the people, and Nicias was in the midst of them, treating about some public business. But on a sudden he threw himself upon the ground, in the midst of his discourse, and, after having laid there some time without speaking, as if he had been in a trance, he lifted up his head, and turning it round, began to speak with a feeble trembling voice, which he raised by degrees: and when he saw the whole assembly struck dumb with horror, he threw off his mantle, tore his vest in pieces, and ran half naked to one of the doors of the theatre, crying out that he was pursued by the *Mothers*. From a scruple of religion no one durst touch or stop him; all, therefore, making way, he reached one of the city-gates, though he no longer used any word or action, like one that was heaven-struck and distracted. His wife who was in the secret, and assisted in the stratagem, took her children, and went and prostrated herself as a suppliant before the altars of the goddesses. Then pretending that she was going to seek her husband who was wandering about in the fields, she met with no opposition, but got safe out of the town; and so both of them escaped to Marcellus at Syracuse. The people of Engium adding many other insults and misdemeanors to their past faults, Marcellus came, and had them loaded with irons, in order to punish them. But Nicias approached him with tears in his eyes, and kissing his hands and embracing his knees, asked pardon for all the citizens, and for his enemies first. Hereupon Marcellus relenting, set them all at liberty, and suffered not his troops to commit the least disorder in the city: at the same time he bestowed on Nicias a large tract of land

and many rich gifts. These particulars we learn from Posidonius the philosopher.

Marcellus*, after this, being called home to a war in the heart of Italy, carried with him the most valuable of the statues and paintings in Syracuse, that they might embellish his triumph, and be an ornament to Rome. For before this time, that city neither had nor knew any curiosities of this kind: being a stranger to the charms of taste and elegance. Full of arms taken from barbarous nations, and of bloody spoils; and crowned as she was with trophies and other monuments of her triumphs, she afforded not a cheerful and pleasing spectacle, fit for men brought up in ease and luxury, but her look was awful and severe. And as Epaminondas calls the plains of Bœotia *the orchestra, or stage of Mars*, and Xenophon says Ephesus was *the arsenal of war*; so, in my opinion (to use the expression of Pindar,) one might then have styled Rome the *temple of frowning MARS*.

Thus Marcellus was more acceptable to the people, because he adorned the city with curiosities in the Grecian taste, whose variety, as well as elegance, was very agreeable to the spectator. But the graver citizens preferred Fabius Maximus, who, when he took Tarentum, brought nothing of that kind away. The money, indeed, and other rich moveables he carried off, but he let the statues and pictures remain, using this memorable expression, *Let us leave the Tarentines their angry deities*. They blamed the proceedings of Marcellus, in the first place, as very invidious for Rome, because he had led not only men, but the very gods in triumph; and their next charge was, that he had spoiled a people inured to agriculture and war; wholly unacquainted with luxury and sloth, and, as Euripides says of Hercules,

In vice untaught †, but skill'd where glory led
To arduous enterprise,

* Marcellus, before he left Sicily, gained a considerable victory over Epicydes and Hanno; he slew great numbers, and took many prisoners, beside eight elephants. *Liv. lib. xxv. c. 40.*

† Φαυλον ακομψον οντα, μηγισα τε αγαθον.
This which is taken from an ancient manuscript, is much better than the common reading, which divides the word οντα into two ὄν, τὰ; for so divided, it is nonsense. But probably the ον has crept in by the carelessness of some transcriber, and it will read better without it—

Φαυλον ακομψον, τα μηγισα τε αγαθον.

by furnishing them with an occasion of idleness and vain discourse ; for they now began to spend great part of the day in disputing about arts and artists. But notwithstanding such censures, this was the very thing that Marcellus valued himself upon, even to the Greeks themselves, that he was the first who taught the Romans to esteem and to admire the exquisite performances of Greece, which were hitherto unknown to them.

Finding, at his return, that his enemies opposed his triumph, and considering that the war was not quite finished in Sicily, as well as that a third triumph might expose him to the envy of his fellow-citizens*, he so far yielded, as to content himself with leading up the greater triumph on Mount Alba, and entering Rome with the less. The less is called by the Greeks *εὐαν*, and by the Romans an *ovation*. In this the general does not ride in a triumphal chariot drawn by four horses ; he is not crowned with laurel, nor has he trumpets sounding before him, but he walks in sandals, attended with the music of many flutes, and wearing a crown of myrtle ; his appearance, therefore, having nothing in it warlike, is rather pleasing than formidable. This is to me a plain proof, that triumphs of old were distinguished, not by the importance of the achievement, but by the manner of its performance. For those that subdued their enemies, by fighting battles and spilling much blood, entered with that warlike and dreadful pomp of the greater triumph, and, as is customary in the lustration of an army, wore crowns of laurel, and adorned their arms with the same. But when a general, without fighting, gained his point by treaty and the force of persuasion, the law decreed him this honour, called *Ovation*, which had more the appearance of a festival than of war. For the flute is an instrument used in time of peace ; and the myrtle is the tree of Venus, who, of all the deities, is most averse to violence and war.

* Our author mentions but one triumph before this, namely, that over the Gauls, nor do other writers speak of any more : and instead of *επιτος*, an ancient manuscript gives us *επωτος*, which is the reading that Dacier has followed. If this be the true one, it must be translated thus: *his former had exposed him to envy*. But as Plutarch afterwards says expressly, that Marcellus had *τριής θριαμβές, three triumphs*, we have retained the common reading, though we acknowledge that he might be mistaken in the matter of fact.

Now the term *ovation* is not derived (as most authors think) from the word *evan*, which is uttered in shouts of joy, for they have the same shouts and songs in the other triumph; but the Greeks have wrested it to a word well known in their language, believing that this procession is intended in some measure in honour of Bacchus, whom they call *Evius* and *Thriambus*. The truth of the matter is this: it was customary for the generals, in the greater triumphs, to sacrifice an ox; and in the less a sheep, in Latin *ovis*, whence the word *ovation*. On this occasion it is worth our while to observe, how different the institutions of the Spartan legislator were from those of the Roman, with respect to sacrifices. In Sparta, the general who put a period to a war by policy or persuasion, sacrificed a bullock; but he, whose success was owing to force of arms, offered only a cock. For though they were a very warlike people, they thought it more honourable and more worthy of a human being, to succeed by eloquence and wisdom, than by courage and force. But this point I leave to be considered by the reader.

When Marcellus was chosen consul the fourth time, the Syracusans, at the instigation of his enemies, came to Rome, to accuse him, and to complain to the senate, that he had treated them in a cruel manner, and contrary to the faith of treaties*. It happened that Marcellus was at that time in the capitol, offering sacrifice. The Syracusan deputies went immediately to the senate, who were yet sitting, and falling on their knees, begged of them to hear their complaints, and to do them justice: but the other consul repulsed them with indignation, because Marcellus was not there to defend himself. Marcellus, however, being informed of it, came with all possible expedition, and having seated himself in his chair of state, first despatched some public business, as consul. When that was over, he came down from his seat, and went as a private person, to the place appointed for the accused to make their defence in, giving the Syracusans opportunity to make good their charge. But they were greatly confounded to see the dignity and unconcern with which he behaved; and he who

* The Syracusans were scarce arrived at Rome, before the consul drew lots for their provinces, and Sicily fell to Marcellus. This was a great stroke to the Syracusan deputies, and they would not have dared to prosecute their charge, had not Marcellus voluntarily offered to change the provinces.

had been irresistible in arms, was still more awful and terrible to behold in his robe of purple. Nevertheless, encouraged by his enemies, they opened the accusation in a speech mingled with lamentations, the sum of which was, “ That, though friends and allies of Rome, they had suffered more damage from Marcellus, than some other generals had permitted to be done to a conquered enemy.” To this Marcellus made answer*, “ That, notwithstanding the many instances of their criminal behaviour to the Romans, they had suffered nothing but what it is impossible to prevent, when a city is taken by storm; and that Syracuse was so taken, was entirely their own fault, because he had often summoned it to surrender, and they refused to listen to him. That, in short, they were not forced by their tyrants to commit hostilities, but they had themselves set up tyrants for the sake of going to war.”

The reasons of both sides thus heard, the Syracusans according to the custom in that case withdrew, and Marcellus went out with them, leaving it to his colleague to collect the votes. While he stood at the door of the senate-house † he was neither moved with the fear of the issue of the cause, nor with resentment against the Syracusans, so as to change his usual deportment, but with great mildness and decorum he waited for the event. When the cause was decided, and he was declared to have gained it ‡, the Syracusans fell at his feet, and besought him with tears to pardon not only those that were present, but to take compassion on the rest of their citizens, who would ever acknowledge with gratitude the favour. Marcellus, moved with their entreaties, not only pardoned the deputies, but continued his protection to the other Syracusans, and the

* When the Syracusans had finished their accusations against Marcellus, his colleague Lævinius ordered them to withdraw; but Marcellus desired they might stay and hear his defence.

† While the cause was debating, he went to the capitol, to take the names of the new levies.

‡ The conduct of Marcellus, on the taking of Syracuse, was not entirely approved of at Rome. Some of the senators remembering the attachment which King Hiero had on all occasions shown to their republic, could not help condemning their general for giving up the city to be plundered by his rapacious soldiers. The Syracusans were not in a condition to make good their party against an army of mercenaries; and therefore were obliged against their will to yield to the times, and obey the ministers of Hannibal, who commanded the army.

senate, approving the privileges he had granted, confirmed to them their liberty, their laws, and the possessions that remained to them. For this reason, beside other signal honours with which they distinguished Marcellus, they made a law, that whenever he or any of his descendants entered Sicily, the Syracusans should wear garlands, and offer sacrifices to the gods.

After this Marcellus marched against Hannibal. And though almost all the other consuls and generals, after the defeat at Cannæ, availed themselves of the single art of avoiding an engagement with the Carthaginian, and not one of them durst meet him fairly in the field; Marcellus took quite a different course. He was of opinion, that instead of Hannibal's being worn out by length of time, the strength of Italy would be inseparably wasted by him; and that the slow cautious maxims of Fabius were not fit to cure the malady of his country; since, by pursuing them, the flames of war could not be extinguished, until Italy was consumed: just as timid physicians neglect to apply strong, though necessary, remedies, thinking the distemper will abate with the strength of the patient.

In the first place, he recovered the best towns of the Samnites, which had revolted. In them he found considerable magazines of corn and a great quantity of money, beside making three thousand of Hannibal's men, who garrisoned them, prisoners. In the next place, when Cneius Fulvius the proconsul, with eleven tribunes, was slain, and great part of his army cut in pieces, by Hannibal in Apulia, Marcellus sent letters to Rome, to exhort the citizens to be of good courage, for he himself was on his march to drive Hannibal out of the country *. The reading of these letters, Livy tells us, was so far from removing their grief, that it added terror to it, the Romans reckoning the present danger as much greater than the past, as Marcellus was a greater man than Fulvius.

Marcellus then going in quest of Hannibal, according to his promise, entered Lucania, and found him encamped on inaccessible heights near the city of Numistro. Marcellus himself pitched his tents on the plain, and the next day, was the first to draw up his forces in order of battle.

* The Latin annotator observes, on the authority of Livy, that instead of *χαρά* we should here read *χαράν*, and then the passage will run thus: *he himself was marching against Hannibal, and would take care that his joy should be very short-lived.*

Hannibal declined not the combat, but descended from the hills, and a battle ensued, which was not decisive indeed, but great and bloody; for though the action began at the third hour, it was with difficulty that night put a stop to it. Next morning at break of day, Marcellus again drew up his army, and posting it among the dead bodies, challenged Hannibal to dispute it with him for the victory. But Hannibal chose to draw off; and Marcellus, after he had gathered the spoils of the enemy, and buried his own dead, marched in pursuit of him. Though the Carthaginian laid many snares for him, he escaped them all; and having the advantage too in all skirmishes, his success was looked upon with admiration. Therefore, when the time of the next election came on, the senate thought proper to call the other consul out of Sicily, rather than draw off Marcellus, who was grappling with Hannibal. When he was arrived, they ordered him to declare Quintus Fulvius dictator. For a DICTATOR is not named either by the people or the senate, but one of the consuls or prætors, advancing into the assembly, names whom he pleases. Hence some think, the term *Dicator* comes from *dicere*, which in Latin signifies *to name*: but others assert, that the *dictator* is so called, because he refers nothing to plurality of voices in the senate, or to the suffrages of the people, but gives his orders at his own pleasure. For the orders of magistrates, which the Greek call *diatagmata* the Romans call *edicta*, edicts.

The colleague* of Marcellus was disposed to appoint another person dictator, and that he might not be obliged to depart from his own opinion, he left Rome by night, and failed back to Sicily. The people, therefore, named Quintus Fulvius, dictator, and the senate wrote to Marcellus to confirm the nomination, which he did accordingly.

Marcellus was appointed proconsul for the year following: and having agreed with Fabius Maximus the consul, by letters, that Fabius should besiege Tarentum, while himself was to watch the motions of Hannibal, and prevent his relieving the place, he marched after him with all

* Lævinus, who was the colleague of Marcellus, wanted to name M. Valerius Messala, dictator. As he left Rome abruptly, and enjoined the prætor not to name Fulvius, the tribunes of the people took upon them to do it, and the senate got the nomination confirmed by the consul Marcellus.

uillgence, and came up with him at Canusium. And as Hannibal shifted his camp continually, to avoid coming to a battle, Marcellus watched him closely, and took care to keep him in sight. At last, coming up with him, as he was encamping, he so harassed him with skirmishes, that he drew him to an engagement ; but night soon came on, and parted the combatants. Next morning early, he drew his army out of the entrenchments, and put them in order of battle ; so that Hannibal, in great vexation, assembled the Carthaginians, and begged of them to exert themselves more in that battle than ever they had done before. " For "you see," said he, " that we can neither take breath, " after so many victories already gained, nor enjoy the " least leisure if we are victorious now, unless this man be " driven off."

After this a battle ensued, in which Marcellus seems to have miscarried by an unseasonable movement*. For seeing his right wing hard pressed, he ordered one of the legions to advance to the front, to support them. This movement put the whole army in disorder, and decided the day in favour of the enemy ; two thousand seven hundred Romans being slain upon the spot. Marcellus retreated into his camp, and having summoned his troops together, told them, " He saw the arms and bodies of Romans in " abundance before him, but not one Roman." On their begging pardon, he said, " He would not forgive them " while vanquished, but when they came to be victorious " he would : and that we would lead them into the field " again the next day, that the news of the victory might " reach Rome before that of their flight." Before he dismissed them, he gave orders that barley should be measured out, instead of wheat †, to those companies that had turned their backs. His reprimand made such an impression on them, that though many were dangerously wounded, there was not a man who did not feel more pain from the words of Marcellus, than he did from his wounds.

* The movement was not unseasonable, but ill executed. Livy says the right wing gave way faster than they needed to have done, and the eighteenth legion, which was ordered to advance from rear to front, moved too slowly ; this occasioned the disorder.

† This was a common punishment. Besides which, he ordered that the officers of those companies should continue all day long with their swords drawn, and without their girdles. *Liv. xxvii. c. 13.*

Next morning, the scarlet robe, which was the ordinary signal of battle, was hung out betimes; and the companies that had come off with dishonour before, obtained leave, at their earnest request, to be posted in the foremost line: after which the tribunes drew up the rest of the troops in their proper order. When this was reported to Hannibal, he said, "Ye gods, what can one do with a man, who is not affected with either good or bad fortune? This is the only man who will neither give any time to rest, when he is victorious, nor take any when he is beaten. We must even resolve to fight with him for ever; since, whether prosperous or unsuccessful, a principle of honour leads him on to new attempts and further exertions of courage."

Both armies then engaged, and Hannibal seeing no advantage gained by either, ordered his elephants to be brought forward into the first line, and to be pushed against the Romans. The shock caused great confusion at first in the Roman front; but Flavus, a tribune, snatching an ensign-staff from one of the companies, advanced, and with the point of it wounded the foremost elephant. The beast upon this, turned back, and so did the second, the second upon the next that followed, and so on till they were all put in great disorder. Marcellus observing this, ordered his horse to fall furiously upon the enemy, and taking advantage of the confusion already made, to rout them entirely. Accordingly they charged with extraordinary vigour, and drove the Carthaginians to their entrenchments. The slaughter was dreadful; and the fall of the killed, and the plunging of the wounded elephants contributed greatly to it. It is said that more than eight thousand Carthaginians fell in this battle; of the Romans not above three thousand were slain, but almost all the rest were wounded. This gave Hannibal opportunity to decamp silently in the night, and remove to a great distance from Marcellus, who by reason of the number of his wounded, was not able to pursue him, but retired, by easy marches, into Campania, and passed the summer in the city of Sineuza*, to recover and refresh his soldiers.

Hannibal, thus disengaged from Marcellus, made use of his troops, now at liberty, and securely overran the country, burning and destroying all before him. This gave occasion

* Livy says in Venusia, which being much nearer Canusium, was more convenient for the wounded men to retire to.

to unfavourable reports of Marcellus at Rome; and his enemies incited Publius Bibulus, one of the tribunes of the people, a man of violent temper, and a vehement speaker, to accuse him in form. Accordingly Bibulus often assembled the people, and endeavoured to persuade them to take the command from him, and give it to another:—“ Since Marcellus,” said he, “ has only exchanged a few ‘thrusts with Hannibal, and then left the stage, and is ‘gone to the hot baths to refresh himself *.”

When Marcellus was apprised of these practices against him, he left his army in charge with his lieutenants, and went to Rome to make his defence. On his arrival, he found an impeachment framed out of these calumnies.—And the day fixed for it being come, and the people assembled in the Flaminian Circus, Bibulus ascended the tribune’s seat and set forth his charge. Marcellus’s answer was plain and short: but many persons of distinction among the citizens exerted themselves greatly, and spoke with much freedom, exhorting the people not to judge worse of Marcellus, than the enemy himself had done, by fixing a mark of cowardice upon the only general whom Hannibal shunned, and used as much art and care to avoid fighting with, as he did to seek the combat with others. These remonstrances had such an effect, that the accuser was totally disappointed in his expectations, for Marcellus was not only acquitted of the charge, but a fifth time chosen consul.

As soon as he had entered upon his office, he visited the cities of Tuscany, and by his personal influence, allayed a dangerous commotion, that tended to a revolt. At his return, he was desirous to dedicate to HONOUR and VIRTUE the temple which he had built out of the Sicilian spoils, but was opposed by the priests, who would not consent that two deities should be contained in one temple †. Taking

* There were hot baths near Sinuessa, but none near Venusia. Therefore, if Marcellus went to the latter place, this satirical stroke was not applicable. Accordingly Livy does not apply it; he only makes Bibulus say, that Marcellus passed the summer in quarters.

† They said, if the temple should be struck with thunder and lightning, or any other prodigy should happen to it that wanted expiation, they should not know to which of the deities they ought to offer the expiatory sacrifice. Marcellus, therefore, to satisfy the priests, began another temple, and the work was carried on with great diligence; but he did not live to dedicate it. His son consecrated both the temples about four years after.

this opposition ill, and considering it as ominous, he began another temple.

There were many other prodigies that gave him uneasiness. Some temples were struck with lightning; in that of Jupiter rats gnawed the gold; it was even reported that an ox spoke, and that there was a child living which was born with an elephant's head: and when the expiation of these prodigies was attempted, there were no tokens of success. The *augurs*, therefore, kept him in Rome, notwithstanding his impatience and eagerness to be gone. For never was man so passionately desirous of any thing as he was of fighting a decisive battle with Hannibal. It was his dream by night, the subject of conversation all day with his friends and colleagues, and his sole request to the gods, that he might meet Hannibal fairly in the field. Nay, I verily believe, he would have been glad to have had both armies surrounded with a wall or entrenchment, and to have fought in that enclosure. Indeed, had he not already attained to such a height of glory, had he not given so many proofs of his equalling the best generals in prudence and discretion, I should think he gave way to a sanguine and extravagant ambition, unsuitable to his years; for he was above sixty when he entered upon his fifth consulate.

At last the expiatory sacrifices being such as the foot-slayers approved, he set out, with his colleague, to prosecute the war, and fixed his camp between Bantia and Venusia. There he tried every method to provoke Hannibal to a battle, which he constantly declined. But the Carthaginian perceiving that the consuls had ordered some troops to go and lay siege to the city of the *Epizephyriani* or Western Locrians *, he laid an ambuscade on their way, under the hill of Petelia, and killed two thousand five hundred of them. This added stings to Marcellus's desire of an engagement, and made him draw nearer to the enemy.

Between the two armies was a hill, which afforded a pretty strong post; it was covered with thickets, and on both sides were hollows, from whence issued springs and rivulets. The Romans were surprised that Hannibal, who came first to so advantageous a place, did not take

* This was not a detachment from the forces of the consuls which they did not choose to weaken when in the sight of such an enemy as Hannibal. It consisted of troops drawn from Sicily, and from the garrison of Tarentum.

possession of it, but left it for the enemy. He did, indeed, think it a good place for a camp, but a better for an ambuscade, and to that use he chose to put it. He filled, therefore, the thickets and hollows with a good number of archers and spearmen, assuring himself that the convenience of the post would draw the Romans to it. Nor was he mistaken in his conjecture. Presently nothing was talked of in the Roman army, but the expediency of seizing this hill; and as if they had been all generals, they set forth the many advantages they should have over the enemy, by encamping, or, at least, raising a fortification upon it. Thus Marcellus was induced to go with a few horse to take a view of the hill; but, before he went, he offered sacrifice. In the first victim that was slain the diviner showed him the liver without a head; in the second, the head was very plump and large, and the other tokens appearing remarkably good, seemed sufficient to dispel the fears of the first; but the diviners declared, they were the more alarmed on that very account; for when favourable signs on a sudden follow threatening and inauspicious ones, the strangeness of the alteration should rather be suspected. But as Phidias says,

Nor fire nor walls of triple brass
Control the high benefits of fate.

He, therefore, set out to view the place, taking with him his colleague Crispinus, his son Marcellus, who was a tribune, and only two hundred and twenty horse, among whom there was not one Roman; they were all Tuscans, except forty Fregellanians, of whose courage and fidelity he had sufficient experience. On the summit of the hill, which, as we said before, was covered with trees and bushes, the enemy had placed a sentinel, who, without being seen himself, could see every movement in the Roman camp. Those that lay in ambush having intelligence from him of what was doing, lay close till Marcellus came very near, and then all at once rushed out, spread themselves about him, let fly a shower of arrows, and charged him with their swords and spears. Some pursued the fugitives, and others attacked those that stood their ground. The latter were the forty Fregellanians; for, the Tuscans taking to flight at the first charge, the others closed together in a body to defend the consuls: and they continued the fight till Crispinus, wounded with two arrows, turned his horse

to make his escape, and Marcellus being run through between the shoulders with a lance, fell down dead. Then the few Fregellanians that remained, leaving the body of Marcellus, carried off his son, who was wounded, and fled with him to the camp.

In this skirmish there were not many more than forty men killed; eighteen were taken prisoners, besides five *lictors*. Crispinus died of his wounds a few days after*. This was a most unparalleled misfortune: the Romans lost both the consuls in one action.

Hannibal made but little account of the rest, but when he knew that Marcellus was killed, he hastened to the place, and, standing over the body a long time, surveyed its size and mien; but without speaking one insulting word, or showing the least sign of joy, which might have been expected at the fall of so dangerous and formidable an enemy. He stood, indeed, a while astonished at the strange death of so great a man; and at last taking his signet from his finger †, he caused his body to be magnificently attired and burnt, and the ashes to be put in a silver urn, and then placed a crown of gold upon it, and sent it to his son.—But certain Numidians meeting those that carried the urn, attempted to take it from them, and as the others stood upon their guard to defend it, the ashes were scattered in the struggle. When Hannibal was informed of it, he said to those who were about him, *You see it is impossible to do anything against the will of God.* He punished the Numidians, indeed, but took no farther care about collecting and sending the remains of Marcellus, believing that some deity had ordained that Marcellus should die in so strange a manner, and that his ashes should be denied burial. This account of the matter we have from Cornelius Nepos and

* He did not die till the latter end of the year, having named T. Manlius Torquatus, dictator, to hold the *comitia*. Some say he died at Tarentum; others in Campania.

† Hannibal imagined he should have some opportunity or other of making use of this seal to his advantage. But Crispinus despatched messengers to all the neighbouring cities, in the interest of Rome, acquainting them that Marcellus was killed, and Hannibal master of his ring. This precaution preserved Salapia, in Apulia. Nay, the inhabitants turned the artifice of the Carthaginian upon himself. For admitting, upon a letter sealed with that ring, six hundred of Hannibal's men, most of them Roman deserters, into the town, they on a sudden pulled up the draw bridges, cut in pieces those who had entered, and, with a shower of darts from the ramparts, drove back the rest. *Liv. l. xxvii. c. 28.*

Valerius Maximus; but Livy * and Augustus Cæsar affirm, that the urn was carried to his son, and that his remains were interred with great magnificence.

Marcellus's public donations, beside those he dedicated at Rome, were a *Gymnasium*, which he built at Catana in Sicily; and several statues and paintings, brought from Syracuse, which he set up in the temple of the *Cabiri* in Samothrace, and in that of Minerva at Lindus. In the latter of these, the following verses, as Posidonius tells us, were inscribed on the pedestal of his statue :

The light of Rome, Marcellus here behold,
For birth, for deeds of arms, by fame enroll'd.
Seven times his FASCIÆ grac'd the martial plain,
And by his thundering arma were thousands slain.

The author of this inscription adds to his five consulates the dignity of proconsul, with which he was twice honoured. His posterity continued in great splendour down to Marcellus, the son of Caius Marcellus and Octavia the sister of Augustus †. He died very young, in the office of *cædile*, soon after he had married Julia, the emperor's daughter. To do honour to his memory, Octavia dedicated to him a library ‡, and Augustus a theatre; and both these public works bore his name.

* Livy tells us, that Hannibal buried the body of Marcellus on the hill where he was slain.

† His family continued after his death an hundred and eighty-five years; for he was slain in the first year of the hundred and forty-third Olympiad, in the five hundred and forty-fifth year of Rome, and two hundred and six years before the Christian era; and young Marcellus died in the second year of the hundred and eighty-ninth Olympiad, and seven hundred and thirtieth of Rome.

‡ According to Suetonius and Dion, it was not Octavia but Augustus that dedicated this library.

PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS

COMPARED.

THESE are the particulars which we thought worth reciting from history concerning Marcellus and Pelopidas; between whom there was a perfect resemblance in the gifts of nature, and in their lives and manners. For they were both men of heroic strength, capable of enduring the greatest fatigue, and in courage and magnanimity they were equal. The sole difference is, that Marcellus, in most of the cities which he took by assault, committed great slaughter, whereas Epaminondas and Pelopidas, never spilt the blood of any man they had conquered, nor enslaved any city they had taken. And it is affirmed, that if they had been present, the Thebans would not have deprived the Orchomenians of their liberty.

As to their achievements, among those of Marcellus there was none greater or more illustrious than his beating such an army of Gauls, both horse and foot, with a handful of horse only, of which you will scarce meet with another instance, and his slaying their prince with his own hand. Pelopidas hoped to have done something of the like nature, but miscarried, and lost his life in the attempt. However, the great and glorious battles of Leuctra and Tegyrae may be compared with these exploits of Marcellus. And, on the other hand, there is nothing of Marcellus's effected by stratagem and surprise, which can be set against the happy management of Pelopidas, at his return from exile, in taking off the Theban tyrants. Indeed, of all the enterprises of the secret hand of art, that was the masterpiece.

If it be said, that Hannibal was a formidable enemy to the Romans, the Lacedæmonians were certainly the same to the Thebans. And yet it is agreed on all hands, that they were thoroughly beaten by Pelopidas, at Leuctra and Tegyrae, whereas, according to Polybius, Hannibal was never once defeated by Marcellus, but continued invincible till he had to do with Scipio. However, we rather believe with Livy, Cæsar, and Cornelius Nepos,

among the Latin historians, and with king Juba* among the Greek, that Marcellus did sometimes beat Hannibal, and even put his troops to flight, though he gained no advantage of him sufficient to turn the balance considerably on his side: so that one might even think, that the Carthaginian then acted with the art of a wrestler, who sometimes suffers himself to be thrown †. But what has been very justly admired in Marcellus, is, that, after such great armies had been routed, so many generals slain, and the whole empire almost totally subverted, he found means to inspire his troops with courage enough to make head against the enemy. He was the only man that from a state of terror and dismay, in which they had long remained, raised the army to an eagerness for battle, and infused into them such a spirit, that, far from tamely giving up the victory, they disputed it with the greatest obstinacy. For those very men who had been accustomed by a run of successes, to think themselves happy if they could escape Hannibal by flight, were taught by Marcellus to be ashamed of coming off with disadvantage, to blush at the very thought of giving way, and to be sensibly affected if they gained not the victory.

As Pelopidas never lost a battle in which he commanded in person, and Marcellus won more than any Roman of his time, he who performed so many exploits, and was so hard to conquer, may, perhaps, be put on a level with the other, who was never beaten. On the other hand, it may be observed, that Marcellus took Syracuse, whereas Pelopidas failed in his attempt upon Sparta. Yet, I think, even to approach Sparta, and to be the first that ever passed the Eurotas in a hostile manner, was a greater achievement than the conquest of Sicily; unless it may be said, that the honour of this exploit, as well as that of Leuctra, belongs rather to Epaminondas than Pelopidas, whereas the glory Marcellus gained was entirely his own.

* This historian was the son of Juba, king of Numidia, who, in the civil war sided with Pompey, and was slain by Petreius in single combat. The son, mentioned here, was brought in triumph by Caesar to Rome, where he was educated in the learning of the Greeks and Romans.

† αλλ' οὐδὲ Φενδάμεν τι γενοδασ περι τού Διεγύ εν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς.

For he alone took Syracuse ; he defeated the Gauls without his colleague ; he made head against Hannibal, not only without the assistance, but against the remonstrances of the other generals ; and changing the face of the war, he first taught the Romans to meet the enemy with a good countenance.

As for their deaths, I praise neither the one nor the other, but it is with concern and indignation that I think of the strange circumstances that attended them. At the same time, I admire Hannibal, who fought such a number of battles as it would be a labour to reckon, without ever receiving a wound : and I greatly approve the behaviour of Chryfantes, in the *Cyropaedia* *, who, having his sword lifted up and ready to strike, upon hearing the trumpets sound a retreat, calmly and modestly retired without giving the stroke. Pelopidas, however, was somewhat excusable, because he was not only warmed with the heat of battle, but incited by a generous desire of revenge. And, as Euripides says,

The first of chiefs is he who laurels gains,
And buys them not with life : the next is he
Who dies, but dies in Virtue's arms.—

In such a man, dying is a free and involuntary act, not a passive submission to fate. But beside his resentment, the end Pelopidas proposed to himself in conquering, which was the death of a tyrant, with reason animated him to uncommon efforts : for it was not easy to find another cause so great and glorious wherein to exert himself. But Marcellus, without any urgent occasion, without that enthusiasm which often pushes men beyond the bounds of reason in time of danger, unadvisedly exposed himself, and died not like a general, but like a spy ; risking his five consulates, his three triumphs, his trophies and spoils of kings against a company of Spaniards and Numidians, who had bartered with the Carthaginians for their lives and services. An accident so strange, that those very adventurers could not forbear grudging themselves such successes, when they found that a man the most distinguished of all the Romans for valour, as well as power and fame, had fallen by their hands, amidst a scouting party of Fregeianians.

* Mentioned at the beginning of the fourth book.

Let not this, however, be deemed an accusation against these great men, but rather a complaint to them of the injury done themselves, by sacrificing all their other virtues to their intrepidity, and a free expostulation with them for being so prodigal of their blood as to shed it for their own sakes, when it ought to have fallen only for their country, their friends, and their allies.

Pelopidas was buried by his friends, in whose cause he was slain, and Marcellus by those enemies that slew him. The first was a happy and desirable thing, but the other was greater and more extraordinary; for gratitude in a friend for benefits received, is not equal to an enemy's admiring the virtue by which he suffers. In the first case there is more regard to interest than to merit; in the latter, real worth is the sole object of the honour paid.

ARISTIDES.

ARISTIDES, the son of Lysimachus, was of the tribe of Antiochus, and the ward of Alcibiades. Of his estate we have different accounts. Some say, he was always very poor, and that he left two daughters behind him, who remained a long time unmarried, on account of their poverty *. But Demetrius the Phalerean contradicts this general opinion in his *Socrates*, and says there was a farm at Phalera which went by the name of Aristides, and that there he was buried. And to prove that there was a competent estate in his family, he produces three arguments. The first is taken from the office of archon †, which made the year bear his name; and which fell to him by lot; and for this none took their chance but such as had an income of the first degree, consisting of five hundred measures of corn, wine, and oil, who therefore were called *Pentacostomulini*. The second argument is founded on the *Ostracism*, by which he was banished, and which was never inflicted on the meaner sort, but only upon persons of quality,

* And yet, according to a law of Solon's, the bride was to carry with her only three suits of clothes, and a little household stuff of small value.

† At Athens they reckoned their years by *Archons*, as the Romans did theirs by *Consuls*. One of the nine archons, who all had estates of the first degree, was for this purpose chosen by lot out of the rest, and his name inscribed in the public registers.

whose grandeur and family-pride made them obnoxious to the people. The third and last is drawn from the Tripods, which Aristides dedicated in the temple of Bacchus, on account of his victory in the public games, and which are still to be seen with this inscription, “ The tribe of Anti-
ochus gained the victory, Aristides defrayed the charge,
“ and Archestratus was the author of the play.”

But this last argument, though in appearance the strongest of all, is really a very weak one. For Epaminondas, who, as every body knows, lived and died poor, and Plato the philosopher, who was not rich, exhibited very splendid shows: the one was at the expence of a concert of flutes at Thebes, and the other of an entertainment of singing and dancing performed by boys at Athens; Dion having furnished Plato with the money, and Pelopidas supplied Epaminondas. For why should good men be always averse to the presents of their friends? while they think it mean and ungenerous to receive any thing for themselves, to lay up, or to gratify an avaricious temper, they need not refuse such offers as serve the purposes of honour and magnificence, without any views of profit.

As to the Tripods, inscribed with ARISTIDES, Panætius shows plainly that Demetrius was deceived by the name. For, according to the registers, from the Persian to the end of the Peloponnesian war, there were only two of the name of Aristides who carried the prize in the choral exhibitions, and neither of them was the son of Lysimachus: for the former was son to Xenophilus, and the latter lived long after, as appears from the characters *, which were not in use till after Euclid's time, and likewise from the name of the poet Archestratus, which is not found in any record or author during the Persian wars; whereas mention is often made of a poet of that name, who brought his pieces upon the stage in the time of the Peloponnesian war†. But this argument of Panætius should not be admitted without farther examination.

* *γεωμετρίας*, which is the common reading, has been well changed by M. Salvini to *γεωμετρης*.

† It was very possible for a poet, in his own lifetime, to have his plays acted in the Peloponnesian war, and in the Persian too. And therefore the inscription which Plutarch mentions might belong to our Aristides.

And as for the Ostracism, every man that was distinguished by birth, reputation, or eloquence, was liable to suffer by it; since it fell even upon Damon, preceptor to Pericles, because he was looked upon as a man of superior parts and policy. Besides, Idomeneus tells us, that Aristides came to be *archon* not by lot, but by particular appointment of the people. And if he was *archon* after the battle of Platæa*, as Demetrius himself writes, it is very probable that, after such great actions, and so much glory, his virtue might gain him that office which others obtained by their wealth. But it is plain that Demetrius laboured to take the imputation of poverty, as if it were some great evil, not only from Aristides, but from Socrates too; who, he says, besides a house of his own, had seventy minæ † at a time in the hands of Crito.

Aristides had a particular friendship for Clitisthenes, who settled the popular government at Athens after the expulsion of the tyrants ‡; yet he had, at the same time, the greatest veneration for Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonian, whom he considered as the most excellent of lawgivers: and this led him to be a favourer of aristocracy, in which he was always opposed by Themistocles, who listed in the party of the commons. Some, indeed, say, that being brought up together from their infancy, when boys, they were always at variance, not only in serious matters, but in their very sports and diversions; and their tempers were discovered from the first by that opposition. The one was insinuating, daring, and artful, variable and at the same time impetuous in his pursuits: the other was solid and steady, inflexibly just, incapable of using any falsehood, flattery, or deceit, even at play. But Aristo of Chios ||

* But Demetrius was mistaken; for Aristides was never *archon* after the battle of Platæa, which was fought in the second year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad. In the list of archons the name of Aristides is found in the fourth year of the seventy-second Olympiad, a year or two after the battle of Marathon, and in the second year of the seventy-fourth Olympiad, four years before the battle of Platæa.

† But Socrates himself declares, in his apology to his judges, that, considering his poverty, they could not in reason fine him more than one mina.

‡ These tyrants were the Pisistratidæ, who were driven out about the sixty-sixth Olympiad.

|| Dacier thinks it was rather Aristo of Ceos, because, as a Peripatetic, he was more likely to write treatises of love than the other, who was a Stoic.

writes, that their enmity, which afterwards came to such a height, took its rise from love.

* * * * *

Themistocles, who was an agreeable companion, gained many friends, and became respectable in the strength of his popularity. Thus, when he was told that “ he would “ govern the Athenians extremely well, if he would but “ do it without respect of persons,” he said, “ May I never “ sit on a tribunal where my friends shall not find more “ favour from me than strangers.”

Aristides, on the contrary, took a method of his own in conducting the administration. For he would neither consent to any injustice to oblige his friends, nor yet disoblige them, by denying all they asked: and as he saw that many, depending on their interest and friends, were tempted to do unwarrantable things, he never endeavoured after that support, but declared, that a good citizen should place his whole strength and security in advising and doing what is just and right. Nevertheless, as Themistocles made many rash and dangerous motions, and endeavoured to break his measures in every step of government, he was obliged to oppose him as much in his turn, partly by way of self-defence, and partly to lessen his power, which daily increased through the favour of the people. For he thought it better that the commonwealth should miss some advantages, than that Themistocles, by gaining his point, should come at last to carry all before him. Hence it was, that one day when Themistocles proposed something advantageous to the public, Aristides opposed it strenuously, and with success; but as he went out of the assembly, he could not forbear saying, “ The affairs “ of the Athenians cannot prosper, except they throw “ Themistocles and myself into the barathrum *.” Another time when he intended to propose a decree to the people, he found it strongly disputed in the council, but at last he prevailed; perceiving its inconveniences; however, by the preceding debates, he put a stop to it, just as the president was going to put it to the question, in order to its being confirmed by the people. Very often he offered his sentiments by a third person, lest, by the op-

* The barathrum was a very deep pit, into which condemned persons were thrown headlong.

position of Themistocles to him, the public good should be obbluced.

In the changes and fluctuations of the government, his firmness was wonderful. Neither elated with honours, nor discomposed with ill success, he went on in a moderate and steady manner, persuaded that his country had a claim to his services, without the reward either of honour or profit. Hence it was, that when those verses of Alcibiades concerning Amphiarus were repeated on the stage,

To be, and not to seem, is this man's maxim ;
His mind reproves on its proper wisdom,
And wants no other praise. —

the eyes of the people in general, were fixed on Aristides, as the man to whom this great encomium was most applicable. Indeed, he was capable of resisting the suggestions, not only of favour and affection, but of resentment and enmity too, wherever justice was concerned. For it is said, that when he was carrying on a prosecution against his enemy, and, after he had brought his charge, the judges were going to pass sentence, without hearing the person accused, he rose up to his assistance, entreating that he might be heard, and have the privilege which the laws allowed. Another time when he himself sat judge between two private persons, and one of them observed, " That his adversary had done many injuries to Aristides :" " Tell me not that," said he, " but what injury he has done to thee ; for it is thy cause I am judging, not my own."

When appointed public treasurer, he made it appear, that not only those of his time, but the officers that preceded him, had applied a great deal of the public money to their own use ; and particularly Themistocles ;

— For he, with all his wisdom,
Could ne'er command his hands.

For this reason, when Aristides gave in his accounts, Themistocles raised a strong party against him, accused him of

* These verses are to be found in the " Siege of Thebes by the Seven Captains." They are a description of the genius and temper of Amphiarus, which the courier, who brings an account of the enemy's attacks, and of the characters of the commanders, gives to Eteocles. Plutarch has changed one word in them for another that suited his purpose better; reading *έξιμος γενής*, instead of *επειροντας γενής*.

misapplying the public money, and (according to Idomeneus) got him condemned. But the principal and most respectable of the citizens*, incensed at this treatment of Aristides, interposed, and prevailed, not only that he might be excused the fine, but chosen again chief treasurer. He now pretended that his former proceedings were too strict, and carrying a gentler hand over those that acted under him, suffered them to pilfer the public money, without seeming to find them out, or reckoning strictly with them: so that, fattened on the spoils of their country, they lavished their praises on Aristides, and heartily espousing his cause, begged of the people to continue him in the same department. But when the Athenians were going to confirm it to him by their suffrages, he gave them this severe rebuke: "While I managed your finances with all the fidelity of an honest man, I was loaded with calumnies; and now when I suffer them to be a prey to public robbers, I am become a mighty good citizen: but I assure you, I am more ashamed of the present honour, than I was of the former disgrace; and it is with indignation and concern, that I see you esteem it more meritorious to oblige ill men, than to take proper care of the public revenue." By thus speaking and discovering their frauds, he silenced those that recommended him with so much noise and bustle, but at the same time received the truest and most valuable praise from the worthiest of the citizens.

About this time Datis, who was sent by Darius, under pretence of chastising the Athenians for burning Sardis, but in reality to subdue all Greece, arrived with his fleet at Marathon, and began to ravage the neighbouring country. Among the generals to whom the Athenians gave the management of this war, Miltiades was first in dignity, and the next to him in reputation and authority was Aristides. In a council of war that was then held, Miltiades voted for giving the enemy battle†, and

* The court of Areopagus interposed in his behalf.

† According to Herodotus (l. vi. c. 109), the generals were very much divided in their opinions, some were for fighting, others not: Miltiades observing this, addressed himself to Callimachus of Aphidnæ, who was *polemarch*, and whose power was equal to that of all the other generals. Callimachus, whose voice was decisive according to the Athenian laws, joined directly with Miltiades, and declared for giving battle immediately. Possibly Aristides might have some share in bringing Callimachus to this resolution.

Aristides, seconding him, added no little weight to his scale. The generals commanded by turns, each his day ; but when it came to Aristides's turn, he gave up his right to Miltiades, thus showing his colleagues, that it was no disgrace to follow the directions of the wise, but that, on the contrary, it answered several honourable and salutary purposes. By this means, he laid the spirit of contention, and bringing them to agree in, and follow the best opinion, he strengthened the hands of Miltiades, who now had the absolute and undivided command ; the other generals no longer insisting on their days, but entirely submitting to his orders*.

In this battle, the main body of the Athenian army was pressed the hardest †, because there for a long time the barbarians made their greatest efforts against the tribes of Lontis and Antiochis ; and Themistocles and Aristides, who belonged to those tribes, exerting themselves at the head of them, with all the spirit of emulation, behaved with so much vigour, that the enemy were put to flight, and driven back to their ships. But the Greeks perceiving that the barbarians, instead of failing to the isles, to return to Asia, were driven in by the wind and currents towards Attica ‡, and fearing that Athens, unprovided for its defence, might become an easy prey to them, marched home with nine tribes, and used such expedition, that they reached the city in one day ||.

Aristides was left at Marathon with his own tribe, to guard the prisoners and the spoils ; and he did not disap-

* Yet he would not fight until his own proper day of command came about, for fear that through any latent sparks of jealousy and envy, any of the generals should be led not to do their duty.

† The Athenians and Platæans fought with such obstinate valour on the right and left, that the barbarians were forced to fly on both sides. The Persians and Sacæ, however, perceiving that the Athenian centre was weak, charged with such force, that they broke through it : this those on the right and left perceived, but did not attempt to succour it, till they had put to flight both the wings of the Persian army ; then bending the points of the wings towards their own centre, they enclosed the hitherto victorious Persians, and cut them in pieces.

‡ It was reported in those times, that the Alcmeonidæ encouraged the Persians to make a second attempt, by holding up as they approached the shore, a shield for a signal. However it was the Persian fleet that endeavoured to double the Cape of Junium, with a view to surprise the city of Athens before the army could return.

Herodot. l. vi. c. 101, &c.

† From Marathon to Athens, is about forty miles.

point the public opinion: For though there was much gold and silver scattered about, and rich garments and other booty in abundance were found in the tents and ships which they had taken, yet he neither had an inclination to touch any thing himself, nor permitted others to do it. But notwithstanding his care, some enriched themselves unknown to him; among whom was Callias the torch-bearer*. One of the barbarians happening to meet him in a private place, and probably taking him for a king, on account of his long hair and the fillet which he wore †, prostrated himself before him; and taking him by the hand, showed him a great quantity of gold that was hid in a well. But Callias not less cruel than unjust, took away the gold, and then killed the man that had given him information of it, lest he should mention the thing to others. Hence, they tell us, it was that the comic writers called his family *Laccephati*, i.e. enriched by the well, setting upon the place from whence their founder drew his wealth.

The year following, Aristides was appointed to the office of *archon*, which gave his name to that year; though, according to Demetrius the Phalerean, he was not archon till after the battle of Platæa, a little before his death. But in the public registers we find not any of the name of Aristides in the list of archons, after Xanthippides, in whose archonship Mardonius was beaten at Platæa; whereas his name is on record immediately after Phanippus ‡, who was archon the same year that the battle was gained at Marathon.

Of all the virtues of Aristides, the people were most struck with his justice, because the public utility was

* Torch-bearers, styled in Greek *deduchit*, were persons dedicated to the service of the gods, and admitted even to the most sacred mysteries. Pausanias speaks of it as a great happiness to a woman, that she had seen her brother, her husband, and her son, successively enjoy this office.

† Both priests and kings wore fillets or diadems. It is well known, that in ancient times those two dignities were generally vested in the same person; and such nations as abolished the kingly office, kept the title of king for a person who ministered in the principal functions of the priesthood.

‡ From the registers it appears, that Phanippus was archon in the third year of the seventy-second Olympiad. It was therefore in this year that the battle of Marathon was fought, four hundred and ninety years before the birth of Christ.

the most promoted by it. Thus he, though a poor man and a commoner, gained the royal and divine title of *the Just*, which kings and tyrants have never been fond of. It has been their ambition to be styled *Polidoreti, takers of cities*; *Cerauni, thunderbolts*; *Nicanors, conquerors*. Nay, some have chosen to be called *Eagles* and *Vultures*, preferring the fame of power to that virtue. Whereas the Deity himself, to whom they want to be compared, is distinguished by three things, immortality, power, and virtue; and of these, virtue is the most excellent and divine. For space and the elements are everlasting; earthquakes, lightning, storms, and torrents have an amazing power; but as for justice*, nothing participates of that, without reasoning and thinking on God. And whereas men entertain three different sentiments with respect to the gods, namely, admiration, fear, and esteem, it should seem that they admire and think them happy by reason of their freedom from death and corruption, that they fear and dread them because of their power and sovereignty, and that they love, honour, and reverence them for their justice. Yet, though affected these three different ways, they desire only the two first properties of the Deity; immortality which our nature will not admit of; and power which depends chiefly upon fortune; while they foolishly neglect virtue, the only divine quality in their power; not considering that it is justice alone, which makes the life of those that flourish most in prosperity and high stations, heavenly and divine, while injustice renders it grovelling and brutal.

Aristides at first was loved and respected for his surname of *the Just*, and afterwards envied as much; the latter, chiefly by the management of Themistocles, who gave it out among the people, that Aristides had abolished the courts of judicature, by drawing the arbitration of all causes to himself, and so was insensibly gaining sovereign power, though without guards and the other ensigns of it. The people, elevated with the late victory, thought themselves capable of every thing, and the highest respect

* δικης δε και θειος οντος μη τω φρονει νομιμοι λογιζεσθαι το θητη μεταλλαγχαινει. in this passage λογιζεσθαι is in the same sense as in 1 Corinth. xiii 5 η αγαπη & λογιζεται καινον, which is, we believe, a rare instance. Perhaps, in this passage of Plutarch, instead of οντος, we should read εις.

little enough for them. Uneasy therefore at finding that any one citizen rose to such extraordinary honour and distinction, they assembled at Athens from all the towns in Attica, and banished Aristides by the ostracism; disguising their envy of his character under the specious pretence of guarding against tyranny.

For the *ostracism* was not a punishment for crimes and misdemeanors, but was very decently called an humbling and lessening of some excessive influence and power. In reality it was a mild gratification of envy; for by this means, whoever was offended at the growing greatness of another, discharged his spleen, not in any thing cruel or inhuman, but only in voting a ten year's banishment. But when it once began to fall upon mean and profligate persons, it was ever after entirely laid aside; Hyperbolus being the last that was exiled by it.

The reason of its turning upon such a wretch was this: Alcibiades and Nicias, who were persons of the greatest interest in Athens, had each his party; but perceiving that the people were going to proceed to the ostracism, and that one of them was likely to suffer by it, they consulted together, and joining interests, caused it to fall upon Hyperbolus. Hereupon the people, full of indignation at finding this kind of punishment dishonoured and turned into ridicule, abolished it entirely.

The ostracism (to give a summary account of it) was conducted in the following manner: Every citizen took a piece of a broken pot, or a shell, on which he wrote the name of the person he wanted to have banished, and carried it to a part of the market-place that was enclosed with wooden rails. The magistrates then counted the number of the shells; and if it amounted not to six thousand, the ostracism stood for nothing; if it did, they sorted the shells, and the person whose name was found on the greatest number, was declared an exile for ten years, but with permission to enjoy his estate.

At the time that Aristides was banished, when the people were inscribing the names on the shells, it is reported that an illiterate burgher came to Aristides, whom he took for some ordinary person, and giving him his shell, desired him to write Aristides upon it. The good man, surprised at the adventure, asked him, "Whether Aristides had ever injured him?" "No," said he "nor do I even know him; but it vexes me to hear him every

" where called *the Just*." Aristides made no answer, but took the shell, and having written his own name upon it, returned it to the man. When he quitted Athens, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and agreeably to his character, made a prayer very different from that of Achilles; namely, " That the people of Athens might never see the day, which should force them to remember Aristides."

Three years after, when Xerxes was passing through Thessaly and Boeotia by long marches to Attica, the Athenians reversed this decree, and by a public ordinance recalled all the exiles. The principal inducement was their fear of Aristides; for they were apprehensive that he would join the enemy, corrupt great part of the citizens, and draw them over to the interest of the barbarians. But they little knew the man. Before this ordinance of theirs, he had been exciting and encouraging the Greeks to defend their liberty; and after it, when Themistocles was appointed to the command of the Athenian forces, he assisted him both with his person and counsel, not desirous to raise his worst enemy to the highest pitch of glory for the public good. For when Eurybiades, the commander in chief, had resolved to quit Salamis*, and before he could put his purpose into execution, the enemy's fleet, taking advantage of the night, had surrounded the islands, and in a manner blocked up the straits, without any one's perceiving that the confederates were so hemmed in, Aristides sailed the same night from Aegina, and passed with the utmost danger through the Persian fleet. As soon as he reached the tent of Themistocles, he desired to speak with him in private, and then addressed him in these terms: " You and I, Themistocles, if we are wise, shall now bid adieu to our vain and childish disputes, and enter upon a nobler and more salutary contention, striving which of us shall contribute most to the preservation of Greece; you in doing the duty of a general, and I in assisting you with my service and advice. I find that you alone have hit upon the best measures, in advising to come

* Eurybiades was for standing away for the gulf of Corinth, that he might be near the land-army. But Themistocles clearly saw, that in the straits of Salamis they could fight the Persian fleet, which was so vastly superior in numbers, with much greater advantage than in the gulf of Corinth, where there was an open sea.

“ immediately to an engagement in the straits. And though the allies oppose your design, the enemy promote it. For the sea on all sides is covered with their ships, so that the Greeks, whether they will or not, must come to action and acquit themselves like men, there being no room left for flight.”

Themistocles answered, “ I could have wished, Ar. stides, that you had not been beforehand with me in this noble emulation; but I will endeavour to outdo this happy beginning of yours by my future actions.” At the same time he acquainted him with the stratagem he had contrived to ensnare the barbarians*, and then desired him to go, and make it appear to Eurybiades, that there could be no safety for them without venturing a sea-fight there; for he knew that Aristides had much greater influence over him than he. In the council of war, assembled on this occasion, Cleocritus the Corinthian said to Themistocles, “ Your advice is not agreeable to Aristides, since he is here present and says nothing.” “ You are mislaken,” said Aristides, “ for I should not have been silent, had not the counsel of Themistocles been the most eligible. And now I hold my peace, not out of regard to the man, but because I approve his sentiments.” This, therefore, was what the Greek officers fixed upon.

Aristides then perceiving that the little island of Psyttalia, which lies in the straits over against Salamis, was full of the enemy’s troops, put on board the small transports a number of the bravest and most resolute of his countrymen, and made a descent upon the island; where he attacked the barbarians with such fury, that they were all cut in pieces, except some of the principal persons, who were made prisoners. Among the latter were three sons of Sandacee the king’s sister, whom he sent immediately to Themistocles; and it is said, that by the direction of Euphrantides the diviner, in pursuance of some oracle, they were all sacrificed to Bacchus *Omphæs*. After this, Aristides placed a strong guard round the island, to take notice of such as were driven ashore there, that so none of his friends might perish, nor any of the enemy

* The stratagem was to send one to acquaint the enemy, that the Greeks were going to quit the straits of Salamis, and therefore if the Persians were desirous to crush them at once, they must fall upon them immediately before they dispersed.

escape. For about Psyttalia the battle raged the most *, and the greatest efforts were made, as appears from the trophy erected there.

When the battle was over, Themistocles, by way of sounding Aristides, said, “ That great things were already done, but greater still remained ; for they might conquer Asia in Europe, by making all the sail they could to the Hellespont, to break down the bridge.” But Aristides exclaimed against the proposal, and bade him think no more of it, but rather consider and inquire what would be the speediest method of driving the Persians out of Greece, lest finding himself shut up with such immense forces, and no way left to escape, necessity might bring him to fight with the most desperate courage. Hereupon, Themistocles sent to Xerxes, the second time, by the Eunuch Arnaces, one of the prisoners †, to acquaint him privately, that the Greeks were strongly inclined to make the best of their way to the Hellespont, to destroy the bridge which he had left there ; but that, in order to save his royal person, Themistocles was using his best endeavours to dissuade them from it. Xerxes, terrified at this news, made all possible haste to the Hellespont ; leaving Mardonius behind him with the land forces, consisting of three hundred thousand of his best troops.

In the strength of such an army Mardonius was very formidable ; and the fears of the Greeks were heightened by his menacing letters, which were in this style : “ At sea in your wooden towers you have defeated landmen, unpractised at the oar ; but there are still the wide plains of Thessaly and the fields of Boeotia, where both horse and foot may fight to the best advantage.” To the Athenians he wrote in particular, being authorised by the king to assure them, that their city should be rebuilt, large sums bestowed upon them, and the sovereignty of Greece put in their hands, if they would take no farther share in the war ‡.

* The battle of Salamis was fought in the year before Christ 480.

† This expedient answered two purposes. By it he drove the king of Persia out of Europe ; and in appearance conferred an obligation upon him, which might be remembered to the advantage of Themistocles, when he came to have occasion for it.

‡ He made these proposals by Alexander king of Macedon, who delivered them in a set speech.

As soon as the Lacedæmonians had intelligence of these proposals, they were greatly alarmed, and sent ambassadors to Athens, to entreat the people to send their wives and children to Sparta *, and to accept from them what was necessary for the support of such as were in years: for the Athenians, having lost both their city and country, were certainly in great distress. Yet when they had heard what the ambassadors had to say, they gave them such an answer, by the direction of Aristides, as can never be sufficiently admired. They said, “They could easily forgive their enemies for thinking that every thing was to be purchased with silver and gold, because they had no idea of any thing more excellent: but they could not help being displeased that the Lacedæmonians should regard only their present poverty and distress, and, forgetful of their virtue and magnanimity, call upon them to fight for Greece, for the paltry consideration of a supply of provisions.” Aristides having drawn up this answer in the form of a decree, and called all the ambassadors to an audience in full assembly, bade those of Sparta tell the Lacedæmonians, *That the people of Athens would not take all the gold, either above or under ground, for the liberties of Greece.*

As for those of Mardonius, he pointed to the sun, and told them, “As long as this luminary shines, so long will the Athenians carry on war with the Persians for their country, which has been laid waste, and for their temples, which have been profaned and burnt.” He likewise procured an order, that the priests should solemnly execrate all that should dare to propose an embassy to the Medes, or talk of deserting the alliance of Greece.

When Mardonius had entered Attica the second time, the Athenians retired again to Salamis. And Aristides, who on that occasion went ambassador to Sparta, complained to the Lacedæmonians of their delay and neglect in abandoning Athens once more to the barbarians; and pressed them to hasten to the succour of that part of Greece which was not yet fallen into the enemy's hands. The

* They did not propose to the Athenians to send their wives and children to Sparta, but only offered to maintain them during the war. They observed, that the original quarrel was between the Persians and Athenians: that the Athenians were always wont to be the foremost in the cause of liberty: and that there was no reason to believe the Persians would observe any terms with a people they hated.

Epaphri gave him the hearing *, but seemed attentive to nothing but mirth and diversion, for it was the festival of Hyacinthus †. At night, however, they selected five thousand Spartans, with orders to take each seven *hectads* with him, and to march before morning, unknown to the Athenians. When Aristides came to make his remonstrances again, they smiled, and told him, “ That he did “ but trifle or dream, since their army was at that time as “ far as Orestium, on their march against the foreigners,” for so the Lacedæmonians called the barbarians. Aristides told them, “ It was not a time to jest, or to put their stra-“ tagems in practice upon their friends, but on their “ enemies.” This is the account Idomeneus gives of the matter; but in Aristides’s decree, Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides are said to have gone upon the embassy, and not Aristides.

Aristides, however, was appointed to command the Athenians in the battle that was expected, and marched with eight thousand foot to Platæa. There Pausanias, who was commander in chief of all the confederates, joined him with his Spartans, and the other Grecian troops arrived daily in great numbers. The Persian army which was encamped along the river Asopæ, occupied an immense tract of ground: and they had fortified a spot ten furlongs square, for their baggage and other things of value.

In the Grecian army there was a diviner of Elis, named Tisamenus ‡, who foretold certain victory to Pausanias and the Greeks in general, if they did not attack the enemy, but stood only upon the defensive. And Aristides having sent to Delphi, to inquire of the oracle, received

* They put off their answer from time to time, until they had gained ten days; in which time they finished the wall across the Isthmus, which secured them against the barbarians.

† Among the Spartans the feast of Hyacinthus lasted three days; the first and last were days of sorrow and mourning for Hyacinthus’s death, but the second was a day of rejoicing, celebrated with all manner of diversions.

‡ The oracle having promised Tisamenus five great victories, the Lacedæmonians were desirous of having him for their diviner, but he demanded to be admitted a citizen of Sparta, which was refused at first. However, upon the approach of the Persians, he obtained that privilege both for himself and his brother Hegias. This would scarce have been worth mentioning, had not those two been the only strangers that were ever made citizens of Sparta.

this answer: “The Athenians shall be victorious, if they address their prayers to Jupiter, to Juno of Citheron, to Pan, and to the nymphs Sphragitides*; if they sacrifice to the heroes, Androcrates, Lenon, Pliander, Damocrates, Hyphion, Acteon, and Polydius; and if they fight only in their own country, on the plain of the Eleusinian Ceres and of Proserpine.” This oracle perplexed Aristides not a little. For the heroes to whom he was commanded to sacrifice, were the ancestors of the Platæans, and the cave of the nymphs Sphragitides in one of the summits of mount Citheron, opposite the quarter where the sun sets in the summer; and it is said, in that cave there was formerly an oracle, by which many who dwelt in those parts were inspired, and therefore called *Nympholepti*. On the other hand, to have the promise of victory only on condition of fighting in their own country, on the plain of the Eleusinian Ceres, was calling the Athenians back to Attica, and removing the seat of war.

In the mean time Arimnestus, general of the Platæans, dreamt that Jupiter the *Preserver* asked him, “What the Greeks had determined to do?” To which he answered, “To-morrow they will decamp and march to Eleusis, to fight the barbarians there, agreeable to the oracle.” The god replied, “They quite mistake its meaning; for the place intended by the oracle is in the environs of Platæa, and if they seek for it, they will find it.” The matter being so clearly revealed to Arimnestus, as soon as he awoke, he sent for the oldest and most experienced of his countrymen, and having advised with them, and made the best inquiry, he found that near Hysie, at the foot of mount Citheron, there was an ancient temple called the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres, and of Proserpine. He immediately conducted Aristides to the place, which appeared to be very commodious for drawing up an army of foot, that was deficient in cavalry, because the bottom of mount Citheron extending as far as the temple, made the extremities of the field on that side inaccessible to the

* The nymphs of mount Citheron were called Sphragitides from the cave Sphragidion, which probably had its name from the silence observed in it by the persons who went thither to be initiated; silence being described by sealing the lips.

horse*. In that place was also the chapel of the hero Androclates, quite covered with thick bushes and trees. And that nothing might be wanting to fulfil the oracle and confirm their hopes of victory, the Platæans resolved, at the motion of Arimnestus, to remove their boundaries between their country and Attica, and, for the sake of Greece, to make a grant of those lands to the Athenians, that, according to the oracle, they might fight in their own territories. This generosity of the Platæans gained them so much renown, that many years after, when Alexander had conquered Asia, he ordered the walls of Platæa to be rebuilt, and proclamation to be made by an herald at the Olympic games, “ That the king granted the Platæans this favour, on account of their virtue and generosity, in giving up their lands to the Greeks in the Persian war, and otherwise behaving with the greatest vigour and spirit.”

When the confederates came to have their several posts assigned them, there was a great dispute between the Tegetæ and the Athenians; the Tegetæ insisting, that, as the Lacedæmonians were posted in the right wing, the left belonged to them, and in support of their claim, setting forth the gallant actions of their ancestors. As the Athenians expressed great indignation at this, Aristides stepped forward and said, “ The time will not permit us to contest with the Tegetæ the renown of their ancestors and their personal bravery: but to the Spartans and to the rest of the Greeks we say, that the post neither gives valour nor takes it away: and whatever post you assign us, we will endeavour to do honour to it, and take care to reflect no disgrace upon our former achievements. For we are not come hither to quarrel with our allies, but to fight our enemies; not to make encomiums upon our forefathers, but to approve our own courage in the cause of Greece. And the battle will soon show what value our country should set on every state, every general, and private man.” After this speech, the council of war declared in favour of the Athenians, and gave them the command of the left wing.

* αριστα τοιετα τα καταληγυντα και συγκριπτα το αιδε απο
το επον.

While the fate of Greece was in suspense, the affairs of the Athenians were in a very dangerous posture. For those of the best families and fortunes, being reduced by the war, and seeing their authority in the state and their distinction gone with their wealth, and others rising to honours and employments, assembled privately in a house at Platæa, and conspired to abolish the democracy; and, if that did not succeed, to ruin all Greece, and betray it to the barbarians. When Aristides got intelligence of the conspiracy thus entered into in the camp, and found that numbers were corrupted, he was greatly alarmed at its happening at such a crisis, and unresolved at first how to proceed. At length he determined neither to leave the matter uninquired into, nor yet to sift it thoroughly, because he knew not how far the contagion had spread, and thought it advisable to sacrifice justice, in some degree, to the public good, by forbearing to prosecute many that were guilty. He, therefore, caused eight persons only to be apprehended, and of those eight no more than two, who were most guilty, to be proceeded against, Æschines of Lampra and Agesias of Acharnæ; and even *they* made their escape during the prosecution. As for the rest he discharged them, and gave them, and all that were concerned in the plot, opportunity to recover their spirits and change their sentiments, as they might imagine that nothing was made out against them; but he admonished them at the same time, “That the battle was the great tribunal, where “they might clear themselves of the charge, and show “that they had never followed any counsels but such as “were just and useful to their country.”

After this *, Mardonius, to make a trial of the Greeks, ordered his cavalry, in which he was strongest, to skirmish with them. The Greeks were all encamped at the foot of Mount Citheron, in strong and stony places; except the Megarensians, who, to the number of three thousand, were posted on the plain, and by this means suffered much by the enemy's horse, who charged them on every side. Unable to stand against such superior numbers, they de-

* The battle of Platæa was fought in the year before Christ 479, the year after that of Salamis. Herodotus was then about nine or ten years old, and had his accounts from persons that were present in the battle. And he informs us that the circumstance here related by Plutarch, happened before the Greeks left their camp at Erythræ, in order to encamp round to Platæa, and before the contest between the Tegetæ and the Athenians. Lib. ix. c. 29, 30, &c.

spatched a messenger to Pausanias for assistance. Pausanias hearing their request, and seeing the camp of the Megarensians darkened with the shower of darts and arrows, and that they were forced to contract themselves within a narrow compass, was at a loss what to resolve on; for he knew that his heavy-armed Spartans were not fit to act against cavalry. He endeavoured, therefore, to awaken the emulation of the generals and other officers that were about him, that they might make it a point of honour voluntarily to undertake the defence and succour of the Megarensians. But they all declined it, except Aristides, who made an offer of his Athenians, and gave immediate orders to Olympiodorus, one of the most active of his officers, to advance with his select band of three hundred men and some archers intermixed. They were all ready in a moment, and ran to attack the barbarians. Masius, general of the Persian horse, a man distinguished for his strength and graceful mien, no sooner saw them advancing, than he spurred his horse against them. The Athenians received him with great firmness, and a sharp conflict ensued; for they considered this as a specimen of the success of the whole battle. At last Masius's horse was wounded with an arrow, and threw his rider, who could not recover himself because of the weight of his armour, nor yet be easily slain by the Athenians that strove which should do it first, because not only his body and his head, but his legs and arms, were covered with plates of gold, brass, and iron. But the vizor of his helmet leaving part of his face open, one of them pierced him in the eye with the staff of his spear, and so despatched him. The Persians then left the body and fled.

The importance of this achievement appeared to the Greeks, not by the number of their enemies lying dead upon the field, for that was but small, but by the mourning of the barbarians, who in their grief for Masius, cut off their hair, and the manes of their horses and mules, and filled all the plain with their cries and groans, as having lost the man that was next to Mardonius in courage and authority.

After this engagement with the Persian cavalry, both sides forbore the combat a long time; for the diviners, from the entrails of the victims, equally assured the Persians and the Greeks of victory, if they stood upon the de-

five, and threatened a total defeat to the aggressors. But at length Mardonius seeing but a few days provision left, and that the Grecian forces increased daily by the arrival of fresh troops, grew uneasy at the delay, and resolved to pass the Asopus next morning by break of day, and fall upon the Greeks, whom he hoped to find unprepared. For this purpose he gave his orders over night. But at midnight a man on horseback softly approached the Grecian camp, and addressing himself to the sentinels, bade them call Aristides the Athenian general to him. Aristides came immediately, and the unknown person said, “I am “ Alexander king of Macedon, who, for the friendship “ I bear you, have exposed myself to the greatest dan- “ gers, to prevent your fighting under the disadvantage “ of a surprise. For Mardonius will give you battle to- “ morrow; not that he is induced to it by any well- “ grounded hope or prospect of success, but by the fear “ city of provisions; for the soothsayers by their ominous “ sacrifices and ill-boding oracles endeavour to divert “ him from it; but necessity forces him either to hazard “ a battle, or to sit still and see his whole army perish “ through want.” Alexander having thus opened himself to Aristides, desired him to take notice and avail himself of the intelligence, but not to communicate it to any other person *. Aristides, however, thought it wrong to conceal it from Pausanias, who was commander in chief: but he promised not to mention the thing to any one besides, until after the battle; and assured him at the same time, that if the Greeks proved victorious, the whole army should be acquainted with this kindness and glorious daring of Alexander.

The king of Macedon, having despatched this affair, returned, and Aristides went immediately to the tent of Pausanias, and laid the whole before him; whereupon the other officers were sent for, and ordered to put the troops under arms, and have them ready for battle. At the same time, according to Herodotus, Pausanias informed Aristides of his design to alter the disposition of the army, by removing the Athenians from the left wing to the right, and setting them to oppose the Persians;

* According to Herodotus, Alexander had excepted Pausanias out of this charge of secrecy; and this is most probable, because Pausanias was commander in chief.

against whom they would act with the more bravery, because they had made proof of their manner of fighting, and with greater assurance of success, because they had already succeeded. As for the left wing, which would have to do with those Greeks that had embraced the Median interest, he intended to command there himself*. The other Athenian officers thought Pausanias carried it with a partial and high hand, in moving them up and down, like so many *helets*, at his pleasure, to face the boldest of the enemy's troops, while he left the rest of the confederates in their posts. But Aristides told them, they were under a great mistake, " You contended," said he, " a few days ago with the Tegetæ for the command of the left wing, and valued yourselves upon the preference; and now when the Spartans voluntarily offer you the right wing, which is in effect giving up to you the command of the whole army, you are neither pleased with the honour, nor sensible of the advantage of not being obliged to fight against your countrymen and those who have the same origin with you, but against barbarians your natural enemies."

These words had such an effect upon the Athenians that they readily agreed to change posts with the Spartans, and nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations to act with bravery. They observed, " That the enemy brought neither better arms nor bolder hearts than they had at Marathon, but came with the same bows, the same embroidered veils and profusion of gold, the same effeminate bodies, and the same unmanly souls. " For our part," continued they, " we have the same weapons and strength of body, together with additional spirits from our victories; and we do not, like them, fight for a tract of land or a single city, but for the trophies of Marathon and Salamis, that the people of Athens, and not Miltiades and fortune, may have the glory of them."

While they were thus encouraging each other, they hastened to their new post. But the Thebans being informed of it by deserters, sent and acquainted Mardonius; who, either out of fear of the Athenians, or from an

* Herodotus says the contrary; namely, that all the Athenian officers were ambitious of that post, but did not think proper to propose it for fear of disobliging the Spartans.

ambition to try his strength with the Lacedæmonians, immediately moved the Persians to his right wing, and the Greeks that were of his party, to the left, opposite to the Athenians. This change in the disposition of the enemy's army being known, Pausanias made another movement, and passed to the right; which Mardonius, perceiving, returned to the left, and so still faced the Lacedæmonians. Thus the day passed without any action at all. In the evening the Grecians held a council of war, in which they determined to decamp, and take possession of a place more commodious for water, because the springs of their present camp were disturbed and spoiled by the enemy's horse.

When night was come*, and the officers began to march at the head of their troops to the place marked out for a new camp, the soldiers followed unwillingly, and could not without great difficulty be kept together; for they were no sooner out of their first intrenchments, than many of them made off to the city of Platæa, and either dispersing there, or pitching their tents without any regard to discipline, were in the utmost confusion. It happened that the Lacedæmonians alone were left behind, though against their will. For Amompharetus, an intrepid man, who had long been eager to engage, and uneasy to see the battle so often put off and delayed; plainly called this decampment a disgraceful flight, and declared, "He would not quit his post, but remain there with his troops, and stand it out against Mardonius." And when Pausanias represented to him, that this measure was taken in pursuance of the counsel and determination of the confederates, he took up a large stone with both his hands, and throwing it at Pausanias's feet, said, "This is my ballot for a battle; and I despise the timid counsels and resolves of others." Pausanias was at a loss what to do, but at last sent to the Athenians, who by this time were advancing, and desired them to halt a little, that they might all proceed in a body: at the same time he marched with the rest of the troops towards

* On this occasion Mardonius did not fail to insult Artabazus, reproaching him with his cowardly prudence, and the false notion he had conceived of the Lacedæmonians, who, as he pretended, never fled before the enemy.

Thrace, hoping by that means to draw Amompharetus after him.

By this time it was day, and Mardonius*, who was ignorant that the Greeks had quitted their camp, put his army in order of battle, and bore down upon the Spartans; the barbarians setting up such shout, and making their arms in such a manner, as if they expected to have only the plundering of fugitives, and not a battle. And indeed it was like to have been so: For though Pausanias, upon seeing this motion of Mardonius, stopped, and ordered every one to his post, yet, either confused with his resentment against Amompharetus, or with the sudden attack of the Persians, he forgot to give his troops the word: and for that reason they neither engaged readily, nor in a body, but continued scattered in small parties, even after the fight was begun.

Pausanias in the mean time offered sacrifice; but seeing no auspicious tokens, he commanded the Lacedaemonians to lay down their shields at their feet, and to stand still, and attend his orders, without opposing the enemy. After this he offered other sacrifices, the Persian cavalry still advancing. They were now within bow-shot, and some of the Spartans were wounded: among whom was Callicrates, a man that for size and beauty excelled the whole army. This brave soldier being shot with an arrow, and ready to expire, said, “ He did not lament his death, because he came out resolved to shed his blood for Greece; but he was sorry to die without having once drawn his sword against the enemy.”

If the terror of this situation was great, the steadiness and patience of the Spartans was wonderful: for they made no defence against the enemy’s charge, but waiting the time of heaven and their general, suffered themselves to be wounded and slain in their ranks.

* Having passed the Aesopus, he came up with the Lacedaemonians and Tegetes, who were separated from the body of the army, to the number of fifty three thousand. Pausanias, finding himself thus attacked by the whole Persian army, dispatched a messenger to acquaint the Athenians, who had taken another route, with the danger he was in. The Athenians immediately put themselves on their march to succour their distressed allies, but were attacked, and, to their great regret, prevented by those Greeks who sided with the Persians. The battle being thus fought in two different places, the Spartans were the first who broke into the centre of the Persian army, and, after most obstinate resistance, put them to flight.

Some say, that, as Pausanias was sacrificing and praying at a little distance from the lines, certain Lydians coming suddenly upon him, seized and scattered the sacred utensils, and that Pausanias and those about him, having no weapons, drove them away with rods and scourges. And they will have it to be in imitation of this assault of the Lydians, that they celebrate a festival at Sparta now, in which boys are scourged round the altar, and which concludes with a march called the *Lydian march*.

Pausanias, extremely afflicted at these circumstances, while the priest offered sacrifice upon sacrifice, turning towards the temple of Juno, and with tears trickling from his eyes and uplifted hands, prayed to that goddess the protectress of Citheron, and to the other tutelar deities of the Plataeans, “ That if the fates had not decreed that “ the Grecians should conquer, they might at least be “ permitted to sell their lives dear, and show the enemy “ by their deeds, that they had brave men and experienced “ soldiers to deal with.”

The very moment that Pausanias was uttering this prayer, the tokens so much desired appeared in the victim, and the diviners announced him victory. Orders were immediately given the whole army to come to action, and the Spartan phalanx all at once had the appearance of some fierce animal, erecting his britles, and preparing to exert his strength. The barbarians then saw clearly that they had to do with men who were ready to spill the last drop of their blood: and, therefore, covering themselves with their targets, shot their arrows against the Lacedæmonians. The Lacedæmonians moving forward in a close compact body, fell upon the Persians, and forcing their targets from them, directed their pikes against their faces and breasts, and brought many of them to the ground. However, when they were down, they continued to give proofs of their strength and courage; for they laid hold on the pikes with their naked hands and broke them; and then springing up, betook themselves to their swords and battle-axes, and wresting away

* ἀπταζειν καὶ διαπιπτειν τα περι την θυσιαν. As τα περι την θυσιαν may be rendered either the sacrifice or the sacred utensils, we have made choice of the latter.

their enemies shields and grappling close with them, made a long and obstinate resistance.

The Athenians all this while stood still, expecting the Lacedæmonians; but when the noise of the battle reached them, and an officer, as we are told, despatched by Pausanias, gave them an account that the engagement was begun, they hastened to his assistance: and as they were crossing the plain towards the place where the noise was heard, the Greeks who sided with the enemy, pushed against them. As soon as Aristides saw them, he advanced a considerable way before his troops, and calling out to them with all his force, conjured them by the gods of Greece, “To renounce this impious war, and not oppose the Athenians, who were running to the succour of those that were now the first to hazard their lives for the safety of Greece.” But finding that, instead of hearkening to him, they approached in a hostile manner, he quitted his design of going to assist the Lacedæmonians, and joined battle with these Greeks, who were above five thousand in number. But the greatest part soon gave way and retreated, especially when they heard that the barbarians were put to flight. The sharpest part of this action is said to have been with the Thebans; among whom the first in quality and power having embraced the Median interest, by their authority carried out the common people against their inclination.

The battle thus divided into two parts, the Lacedæmonians first broke and routed the Persians; and * Mardonius himself was slain by a Spartan named Arimnestus †, who broke his skull with a stone, as the oracle of Amphiaraus had foretold him. For Mardonius had sent a Lydian to consult this oracle, and at the same time a Carian to the cave of Trophonius ‡. The priest of Trophonius answered the Carian in his own language: but

* Mardonius, mounted on a white horse, signalized himself greatly; and, at the head of a thousand chosen men, killed a great number of the enemy; but when he fell, the whole Persian army was easily routed.

† In some copies he is called Diamnestus. Arimnestus was general of the Plataeans.

‡ The cave of Trophonius was near the city of Labadia in Bœotia, above Delphi. Mardonius had sent to consult, not only this oracle, but almost all the other oracles in the country, so restless and uneasy was he about the event of the war.

the Lydian, as he slept in the temple of Amphiarau^s*, thought he saw a minister of the god approach him, who commanded him to begone, and, upon his refusal, threw a great stone at his head, so that he believed himself killed by the blow. Such is the account we have of that affair.

The barbarians, flying before the Spartans, were pursued to their camp, which they had fortified with wooden walls. And soon after the Athenians routed the Thebans, killing three hundred persons of the first distinction on the spot. Just as the Thebans began to give way, news was brought that the barbarians were shut up and besieged in their wooden fortification; the Athenians, therefore, suffering the Greeks to escape, hastened to assist in the siege; and finding that the Lacedæmonians, unskilled in the storming of walls, made but a slow progress, they attacked and took the camp †, with a prodigious slaughter of the enemy. For it is said that of three hundred thousand men, only forty thousand escaped with Artabazus ‡: whereas of those that fought in the cause of Greece, no more were slain than one thousand three hundred and sixty; among whom were fifty-two Athenians, all, according to Clidemus, of the tribe of Aiantis, which greatly distinguished itself in that action. And therefore, by order of the Delphic oracle, the Aiantidæ offered a yearly sacrifice of thanksgiving for the victory to the nymphs *Spragitiades*, having the expence defrayed out of the treasury. The Lacedæmonians lost ninety-one, and the Tegetæ sixteen. But it is surprising, that || Herodotus

* Amphiarau^s, in his life-time, had been a great interpreter of dreams, and therefore, after his death, gave his oracles by dreams; for which purpose those that consulted him, slept in his temple, on the skin of a ram, which they had sacrificed to him.

† The spoil was immense, consisting of vast sums of money, of gold and silver cups, vessels, tables, bracelets, rich beds, and all sorts of furniture. They gave the tenth of all to Pausanias.

‡ Artabazus, who, from Mardonius's imprudent conduct, had but too well foreseen the misfortune that befel him, after having distinguished himself in the engagement, made a timely retreat with the forty thousand men he had commanded, arrived safe at Byzantium, and from thence passed over into Asia. Beside these, only three thousand men escaped. *Herodot.* l. ix. c. 31.—69.

|| Dacier has shown very clearly, that Plutarch misunderstood an expression in the 70th ch. of the 11th book of Herodotus; and that this mistake of his own, led him to impute one to that historian.

should say that these were the only Greeks that engaged the barbarians, and that no other were concerned in the action. For both the number of the slain and the monuments show, that it was the common achievement of the confederates: and the altar erected on that occasion would not have had the following inscription, if only three cities had engaged, and the rest had sat still:

The Greeks, their country freed, the Persians slain,
Have rear'd this altar on the glorious field,
To freedom's patron, Jove.—

This battle was fought on the fourth of Boedromion [September*] according to the Athenian way of reckoning; but according to the Boeotian computation, on the twenty-fourth of the month *Panemus*. And on that day there is still a general assembly of the Greeks at Plataea, and the Plataeans sacrifice to Jupiter *the deliverer*, for the victory. Nor is this difference of days in the Grecian months to be wondered at, since even now, when the science of astronomy is so much improved, the months begin and end differently in different places.

This victory went near to be the ruin of Greece. For the Athenians, unwilling to allow the Spartans the honour of the day, or to consent that they should erect the trophy, would have referred it to the decision of the sword, had not Aristides taken great pains to explain the matter, and pacify the other generals, particularly Leocrates and Myronides; persuading them to leave it to the judgment of the Greeks. A council was called accordingly, in which Theogiton gave it as his opinion, “ That those two states should give up the palm to a third, if they

The expression is, *αντομηνεστερον εχω απορηματας*, which Plutarch must have supposed to mean, *I cannot bear witness for any other of the Greeks*, whereas the real meaning is, *of which I cannot give a better proof*.

* Dacier has it *Oetler* in his translation, but he justly observes in a note, that an Athenian month does not answer exactly to one of ours, but to part of one and part of another; *Boedromion*, for instance, begins about the fifteenth of September, and ends about the fifteenth of October. So that the battle of Plataea must, according to our computation, have been on the nineteenth of September at least; that is, as near as we can fix it. Nor does Plutarch seem to have been sure; for, in the life of Camillus, he says this battle was fought on the third of Boedromion. But we rather think some error has crept into the text, since being a Boeotian himself, he could not be ignorant what day the festival of that victory was held.

“desired to prevent a civil war.” Then Cleocritus the Corinthian rose up, and it was expected he would set forth the pretensions of Corinth to the prize of valour, as the city next in dignity to Sparta and Athens; but they were most agreeably surprised when they found that he spoke in behalf of the Plateans, and proposed, “That all difficulties laid aside, the palm should be adjudged to them, since neither of the contending parties could be jealous of them.” Aristides was the first to give up the point for the Athenians, and then Pausanias did the same for the Lacedæmonians*.

The confederates thus reconciled, eighty talents were set apart for the Plateans, with which they built a temple, and erected a statue to Minerva; adorning the temple with paintings, which to this day retain their original beauty and lustre. Both the Lacedæmonians and Athenians erected trophies separately; and sending to consult the oracle at Delphi, about the sacrifice they were to offer, they were directed by Apollo, “To build an altar to Jupiter the deliverer, but not to offer any sacrifice upon it till they had extinguished all the fire in the country, (because it had been polluted by the barbarians), and supplied themselves with pure fire from the common altar at Delphi.” Hereupon the Grecian generals went all over the country, and caused the fires to be put out; and Euchidas a Platean, undertaking to fetch fire, with all imaginable speed, from the altar of the god, went to Delphi, sprinkled and purified himself there with water, put a crown of laurel on his head, took fire from the altar, and then hastened back to Platea, where he arrived before sun-set, thus performing a journey of a thousand furlongs in one day. But having saluted his fellow-citizens, and delivered the fire, he fell down on the spot, and presently expired. The Plateans carried him to the temple of Diana, surnamed Eucleia, and buried him there, putting this short inscription on his tomb :

Here lies *Euchidas*, who went to Delphi, and returned the same day.

* As to individuals, when they came to determine which had behaved with most courage, they all gave judgment in favour of Aristodemus, who was the only one that had saved himself at Thermopylæ, and now wiped off the blemish of his former conduct by a glorious death.

As for *Eucleia*, the generality believe her to be Diana, and call her by that name ; but some say, she was daughter to Hercules, and Myrto the daughter of Menœceus, and sister of Patroclus ; and that dying a virgin, she had divine honours paid her by the Bœotians and Leocrians. For in the market-place of every city of theirs, she has a statue, and an altar where persons of both sexes that are betrothed offer sacrifice before marriage.

In the first general assembly of the Greeks after this victory, Aristides proposed a decree, “ That deputies from all the states of Greece should meet annually at Plataea, to sacrifice to Jupiter the *deliverer*, and that every fifth year they should celebrate the games of *liberty* : that a general levy should be made through Greece of ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and a hundred ships, for the war against the barbarians : and that the Plataeans should be exempt, being set apart for the service of the god, to propitiate him in behalf of Greece, and consequently their persons to be esteemed sacred.”

These articles passing into a law, the Plataeans undertook to celebrate the anniversary of those that were slain and buried in that place, and they continue it to this day. The ceremony is as follows : On the sixteenth day of Maimacterion [November], which with the Bœotians is the month *Alalcomenius*, the procession begins at break of day, preceded by a trumpet which sounds the signal of battle. Then follow several chariots full of garlands and branches of myrtle, and next to the chariots is led a black bull. Then come some young men that are free-born, carrying vessels full of wine and milk for the libations, and cruets of oil and perfumed essences ; no slave being allowed to have any share in this ceremony, sacred to the memory of men that died for liberty. The procession closes with the archon of Plataea, who at other times is not allowed either to touch iron, or to wear any garment but a white one ; but, that day, he is clothed with a purple robe, and girt with a sword ; and carrying in his hand a water-pot, taken out of the public hall, he walks through the midst of the city to the tombs. Then he takes water in the pot out of a fountain, and, with his own hands, washes the little pillars of the monuments *, and rubs them

* It appears from an epigram of Callimachus, that it was customary to place little pillars upon the monuments, which the friends of the deceased perfumed with essences, and crowned with flowers.

with essences. After this, he kills the bull upon a pile of wood ; and having made his supplications to the terrestrial Jupiter * and Mercury, he invites those brave men who fell in the cause of Greece, to the funeral banquet, and the streams of blood †. Last of all, he fills a bowl with wine, and pouring it out, he says, “ I present this bowl to the “ men who died for the liberty of Greece.” Such is the ceremony still observed by the Plataeans.

When the Athenians were returned home, Aristides observing that they used their utmost endeavours to make the government entirely democratical, considered on one side, that the people deserved some attention and respect, on account of their gallant behaviour, and on the other, that being elated with their victories, it would be difficult to force them to depart from their purpose ; and therefore he caused a decree to be made, that all the citizens should have a share in the administration, and that the *archons* should be chosen out of the whole body of them.

Themistocles having one day declared to the general assembly that he had thought of an expedient which was very salutary to Athens ‡, but ought to be kept secret, he was ordered to communicate it to Aristides only, and abide by his judgment of it. Accordingly he told him, his project was to burn the whole fleet of the confederates ; by which means the Athenians would be raised to the sovereignty of all Greece. Aristides then returned to the assembly, and acquainted the Athenians, “ That nothing “ could be more advantageous than the project of The-“ mistocles, nor any thing more unjust.” And upon his report of the matter, they commanded Themistocles to give over all thoughts of it. Such regard had that people for justice, and so much confidence in the integrity of Aristides.

* The terrestrial Jupiter is Pluto, who, as well as the celestial, had his Mercury, or else borrowed the messenger of the gods of his brother. To be sure, there might be as well two Mercuries, as two Jupiters ; but the conducting of souls to the shades below is reckoned part of the office of that Mercury who waits upon the Jupiter of the skies.

† In Brian's text it is *αίφοροπιάν*, but an ancient manuscript has it *αίφανοπιάν*, which is understood to be the same as *αίφοροπιάν*, the ghost being supposed to be satisfied with the flesh.

‡ This was before the battle of Platae, at the time when Xerxes was put to flight, and driven back into Asia.

Some time after this*, he was joined in commission with Cimon, and sent against the barbarians; where, observing that Pausanias, and the other Spartan generals, behaved with excessive haughtiness, he chose a quite different manner, showing much mildness and condescension in his whole conversation and address, and prevailing with Cimon to behave with equal goodness and affability to the whole league. Thus he insensibly drew the chief command from the Lacedaemonians, not by force of arms, horses, or ships, but by his gentle and obliging deportment. For the justice of Aristides, and the candour of Cimon, having made the Athenians very agreeable to the confederates, their regard was increased by the contrast they found in Pausanias's avarice and severity of manners. For he never spoke to the officers of the allies, but with sharpness and anger, and he ordered many of their men to be flogged, or to stand all day with an iron anchor on their shoulders. He would not suffer any of them to provide themselves with forage, or straw to lie on, or to go to the springs for water, before the Spartans were supplied, but placed his servants there with rods, to drive away those that should attempt it. And when Aristides was going to remonstrate with him upon it, he knit his brows, and telling him, "He was not at leisure," refused to hear him.

From that time the sea-captains and land-officers of the Greeks, particularly those of Chios, Samos, and Lesbos, pressed Aristides to take upon him the command of the confederate forces, and to receive them into his protection, since they had long desired to be delivered from the Spartan yoke, and to act under the orders of the Athenians.— He answered, "That he saw the necessity and justice of what they proposed, but that the proposal ought first to be confirmed by some act, which would make it impossible for the troops to depart from their resolution." Hereupon Uliades of Samos, and Antagoras of Chios, conspiring together, went boldly and attacked Pausanias's galley at the head of the fleet. Pausanias upon this infidelity, cried out, in a menacing tone, "He would soon throw those fellows, they had not offered this intent to his ship, but to their own countries." But they told him, "The best thing he could do was to retire, and

* Eight years after.

“ thank fortune for fighting for him at Platæa ; for that nothing but the regard they had for that great action, restrained the Greeks from wreaking their just vengeance on him.” The conclusion was, that they quitted the Spartan banners, and ranged themselves under those of the Athenians.

On this occasion, the magnanimity of the Spartan people appeared with great lustre. For as soon as they perceived their generals were spoiled with too much power, they sent no more, but voluntarily gave up their pretensions to the chief command ; choosing rather to cultivate in their citizens a principle of modesty and tenaciousness of the laws and customs of their country, than to possess the sovereign command of Greece.

While the Lacedæmonians had the command, the Greeks paid a certain tax towards the war ; and now being desirous that every city might be more equally rated, they begged the favour of the Athenians that Aristides might take it upon him, and gave him instructions to inspect their lands and revenues in order to proportion the burden of each to its ability.

Aristides, invested with this authority, which, in a manner, made him master of all Greece, did not abuse it. For though he went out poor, he returned poorer, having settled the quotas of the several states, not only justly and disinterestedly, but with so much tenderness and humanity, that his assessment was agreeable and convenient to all. And as the ancients praised the times of Saturn, so the allies of Athens blst the settlements of Aristides, calling it *the happy fortune of Greece* : a compliment which soon after appeared still more just, when this taxation was twice or three times as high. For that of Aristides amounted only to four hundred and sixty talents, and Pericles increased it almost one third : for Thucydides writes, that, at the beginning of the war, the Athenians received from their allies six hundred talents ; and after the death of Pericles, those that had the administration in their hands raised it by little and little to the sum of thirteen hundred talents. Not that the war grew more expensive, either by its length or want of success, but because they had accustomed the people to receive distributions of money for the public spectacles and other purposes, and had made them fond of erecting magnificent statues and temples.

The great and illustrious character which Aristides acquired by the equity of this taxation, piqued Themistocles; and he endeavoured to turn the praise bestowed upon him into ridicule, by saying, “ It was not the praise of a “ man, but of a money-chest, to keep treasure without di- “ minution.” By this he took but a feeble revenge for the freedom of Aristides. For one day Themistocles happening to say, “ That he looked upon it as the principal “ excellence of a general, to know and foresee the designs “ of the enemy,” Aristides answered, “ That is indeed a “ necessary qualification, but there is another very excel- “ lent one, and highly becoming a general, and that is to “ have clean hands.”

When Aristides had settled the articles of alliance, he called upon the confederates to confirm them with an oath, which he himself took on the part of the Athenians; and, at the same time, that he uttered the execration on those that should break the articles, he threw red-hot pieces of iron into the sea *. However, when the urgency of affairs afterwards required the Athenians to govern Greece with a stricter hand than those conditions justified, he advised them to let the consequences of the perjury rest with him, and pursue the path which expediency pointed out †. Upon the whole, Theophrastus says, that in all his own private concerns, and in those of his fellow-citizens, he was inflexibly just, but in affairs of state, he did many things, according to the exigency of the case, to serve his country, which seemed often to have need of the assistance of injustice. And he relates, that when it was debated in council, whether the treasure deposited at Delos should be brought to Athens, as the Samians had advised, though contrary to treaties, on its coming to his turn to speak, he said, “ It was not just, but it “ was expedient.”

* As much as to say, as the fire in these pieces of iron is extinguished in a moment, so may their days be extinct, who break this covenant.

† Thus even the just, the upright Aristides, made a distinction between his private and political conscience. A distinction which has no manner of foundation in truth or reason, and which, in the end, will be productive of ruin, rather than advantage; as all those nations will find, who avail themselves of injustice, to serve a present occasion. For so much reputation is so much power; and states, as well as private persons, are respectable only in their character.

This must be said, notwithstanding, that though he extended the dominions of Athens over so many people, he himself still continued poor, and esteemed his poverty no less a glory than all the laurels he had won. The following is a clear proof of it. Callias the torch-bearer, who was his near relation, was prosecuted in a capital cause by his enemies. When they had alleged what they had against him, which was nothing very flagrant, they launched out into something foreign to their own charge, and thus addressed the judges: " You know Aristides, " the son of Lysimachus, who is justly the admiration of " all Greece. When you see with what a garb he ap- " pears in public, in what manner do you think he must " live at home? Must not he who shivers here with " cold for want of clothing, be almost famished there, " and destitute of all necessaries; yet this is the man, " whom Callias, his cousin-german, and the richest man " in Athens, absolutely neglects, and leaves, with his " wife and children, in such wretchedness; though he " has often made use of him, and availed himself of his " interest with you?" Callias perceiving that this point affected and exasperated his judges more than any thing else, called for Aristides to testify before the court, that he had many times offered him considerable sums, and strongly pressed him to accept them, but he had always refused them, in such terms as these: " It better becomes " Aristides to glory in his poverty, than Callias in his " riches; for we see every day many people make a " good as well as a bad use of riches, but it is hard to " find one that bears poverty with a noble spirit; and " they only are ashamed of it, who are poor against their " will." When Aristides had given in his evidence, there was not a man in the court, who did not leave it with an inclination rather to be poor with him, than rich with Callias. This particular we have from Æschines, the disciple of Socrates. And Plato, among all that were accounted great and illustrious men in Athens, judged none but Aristides worthy of real esteem. As for Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, they filled the city with magnificent buildings, with wealth, and the vain superfluities of life; but virtue was the only object that Aristides had in view in the whole course of his administration.

We have extraordinary instances of the candour with which he behaved towards Themistocles. For though he

was his constant enemy in all affairs of government, and the means of his banishment, yet when Themistocles was accused of capital crimes against the state, and he had an opportunity to pay him in kind, he indulged not the least revenge ; but while Alcmaeon, Cimon, and many others were accusing him, and driving him into exile, Aristides alone neither did nor said any thing to his disadvantage : for, as he had not envied his prosperity, so now he did not rejoice in his misfortunes.

As to the death of Aristides, some say it happened in Pontus, whither he had sailed about some busines of the state ; others say he died at Athens, full of days, honoured and admired by his fellow-citizens : but Craterus the Macedonian gives us another account of the death of this great man. He tells us, that after the banishment of Themistocles, the insolence of the people gave encouragement to a number of villainous informers, who attacking the greatest and best men, rendered them obnoxious to the populace, now much elated with prosperity and power. Aristides himself was not spared, but on a charge brought against him by Diophantus of Amphytrone, was condemned for taking a bribe of the Ionians, at the time he levied the tax. He adds, that being unable to pay his fine, which was fifty *mineæ*, he failed to some part of Ionia, and there died. But Craterus gives us no written proof of this assertion, nor does he allege any register of court or decree of the people, though on other occasions he is full of such proofs, and constantly cites his author. The other historians, without exception, who have given us an account of the unjust behaviour of the people of Athens to their generals, among many other instances dwell upon the banishment of Themistocles, the imprisonment of Miltiades, the fine imposed upon Pericles, and the death of Paches, who, upon receiving sentence, killed himself in the judgment-hall, at the foot of the tribunal. Nor do they forget the banishment of Aristides, but they say not one word of this condemnation.

Besides, his monumen. is still to be seen at Platerum, and is said to have been erected at the public charge, because he did not leave enough to defray the expences of his funeral. They inform us too, that the city provided for the marriage of his daughters, and that each of them had three thousand *drachmæ* to her portion out of the

treasury: and to his son Lysimachus the people of Athens gave an hundred *mineæ* of silver, and a plantation of as many acres of land, with a pension of four drachmæ a day *; the whole being confirmed to him by a decree drawn up by Alcibiades. Callisthenes adds, that Lysimachus, at his death, leaving a daughter named Polycrite, the people ordered her the same subsistence with those that had conquered at the Olympic games. Demetrius the Phalerean, Hieronymus of Rhodes, Aristoxenus the musician, and Aristotle himself, if the treatise concerning nobility is to be reckoned among his genuine works, relate, that Myrto, a grand-daughter of Aristides, was married to Socrates the philosopher, who had another wife at the same time, but took her, because she was in extreme want, and remained a widow on account of her poverty. But this is sufficiently confuted by Pantius, in his life of that philosopher.

The same Demetrius, in his account of Socrates, tells us, he remembered one Lysimachus, grandson to Aristides, who plied constantly near the temple of Bacchus, having certain tables by which he interpreted dreams for a livelihood; and that he himself procured a decree, by which his mother and aunt had three *oboli* a day each, allowed for their subsistence. He farther acquaints us, that when afterwards he undertook to reform the Athenian laws, he ordered each of those women a drachma a-day. Nor is it to be wondered, that this people took so much care of those that lived with them in Athens, when having heard that a grand-daughter of Aristogiton lived in mean circumstances in Lemnos, and continued unmarried by reason of her poverty, they sent for her to Athens, and married her to a man of a considerable family, giving her for a portion an estate in the borough of Potamos. That city, even in our days, continues to give so many proofs of her benevolence and humanity, that she is deservedly admired and applauded by all the world.

* Though this may seem no extraordinary matter to us, being only about half a crown of our money, yet in those days it was. For an ambassador was allowed only two drachmæ a day, as appears from the *Acharnenses* of Aristophanes. The poet, indeed, speaks of one sent to the king of Persia, at whose court an ambassador was pretty sure to be enriched.

CATO THE CENSOR.

IT is said that Marcus Cato was born at Tusculum, of which place his family originally was, and that before he was concerned in civil or military affairs, he lived upon an estate which his father left him near the country of the Sabines. Though his ancestors were reckoned to have been persons of no note, yet Cato himself boasts of his father as a brave man and an excellent soldier, and assures us, that his grandfather Cato received several military rewards, and that having had five horses killed under him, he had the value of them paid him out of the treasury, as an acknowledgment of his gallant behaviour. As the Romans always gave the appellation of *new men**. to those who, having no honours transmitted to them from their ancestors, began to distinguish themselves, they mentioned Cato by the same style: but he used to say, he was indeed *new* with respect to offices and dignities, but with regard to the services and virtues of his ancestors, he was very ancient.

His third name, at first, was not Cato, but Priscus. It was afterwards changed to that of Cato, on account of his great wisdom: for the Romans call wise men *Catos* †. He had red hair and grey eyes, as this epigram ill-naturedly enough declares:

With eyes so grey and hair so red,
With tusks ‡ so sharp and keen,
Thou'l fright the shades when thou art dead,
And hell won't let thee in.

* The *jus imaginum* was annexed to the great offices of state, and none had their statutes or pictures but such as had borne those offices. Therefore he who had the pictures of his ancestors, was called *noble*; he who had only his own, was called *new man*; and he who had neither the one nor the other, was called *ignoble*. So says Asconius. But it does not appear, that a man who had borne a great office, the consulate for instance, was *ignoble*, because he had not his statue or picture; for he might not choose it. Cato himself did not choose it: his reason we suppose was because he had none of his ancestors; though he was pleased to assign another.

† The Latin word *catus* signifies *prudent*.

‡ The epigrammatist, when he says that he was *varduxerat*, *one that bit every thing that came in his way*, plays upon his name of *Porcius*, quasi *Porcius, Hog*.

Inured to labour and temperance, and brought up, it were, in camps, he had an excellent constitution with respect to strength as well as health. And he considered eloquence as a valuable contingent, an instrument of great things, not only useful but necessary for every man who does not choose to live obscure and inactive; for which reason he exercised and improved that talent in the neighbouring boroughs and villages, by undertaking the cause of such as applied to him; so that he was soon allowed to be an able pleader, and afterwards a good orator.

From this time all that conversed with him, discerned in him such a gravity of behaviour, such a dignity and depth of sentiment, as qualified him for the greatest affairs in the most respectable government in the world. For he was not only so disinterested as to plead without fee or reward, but it appeared that the honour to be gained in that department was not his principal view. His ambition was military glory; and when yet but a youth, he had fought in so many battles that his breast was full of scars. He himself tells us, he made his first campaign at seventeen years of age, when Hannibal, in the height of his prosperity, was laying Italy waste with fire and sword. In battle he stood firm, had a sure and executing hand, a fierce countenance, and spoke to his enemy in a threatening and dreadful accent; for he rightly judged, and endeavoured to convince others, that such a kind of behaviour often strikes an adversary with greater terror than the sword itself. He always marched on foot, and carried his own arms, followed only by one servant who carried his provisions. And it is said, he never was angry or found fault with that servant, whatever he set before him: but when he was at leisure from military duty, he would ease and assist him in dressing it. All the time he was in the army, he drank nothing but water, except that when almost burnt up with thirst, he would ask for a little vinegar, or when he found his strength and spirits exhausted, he would take a little wine.

Near his country-seat was a cottage which formerly belonged to Manius Curius *, who was thrice honoured

* Manius Curius Dentatus triumphed twice in his first consulate, in the four hundred and fifty-third year of Rome, first over the Samnites, and afterwards over the Sabines. And eight years after that, in his third consulate, he triumphed over Pyrrhus. After this, he led up the less triumph, called *Ovation*, for his victory over the Lucanians.

with a triumph. Cato often walked thither, and reflecting on the smallness of the farm and the meanness of the dwelling, used to think of the peculiar virtues of Dentatus, who, though he was the greatest man in Rome, had subdued the most warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy; cultivated this little spot of ground with his own hands, and after three triumphs lived in this cottage. Here the ambassadors of the Samnites found him in the chimney-corner dressing turnips, and offered him a large present of gold; but he absolutely refused it, and gave them this answer, *A man who can be satisfied with such a supper, has no need of gold; and I think it more glorious to conquer the owners of it, than to have it myself.* Full of these thoughts, Cato returned home, and taking a view of his own estate, his servants, and manner of living, added to his own labour, and retrenched his unnecessary expences.

When Fabius Maximus took the city of Tarentum, Cato, who was then very young*, served under him. Happening at that time to lodge with a Pythagorean philosopher named Nearchus, he desired to hear some of his doctrine; and learning from him the same maxims which Plato advances, *That pleasure is the greatest incentive to evil; that the greatest burden and calamity to the soul is the body, from which she cannot disengage herself, but by such a wise use of reason as shall wean and separate her from all corporeal passions;* he became still more attached to frugality and temperance. Yet it is said that he learned Greek very late, and was considerably advanced in years when he began to read the Grecian writers, among whom he improved his eloquence, somewhat by Thucydides, but by Demosthenes very greatly. Indeed his own writings are sufficiently adorned with precepts and examples borrowed from the Greek, and among his maxims and sentences we find many that are literally translated from the same originals.

At that time there flourished a Roman nobleman of great power and eminence, called Valerius Flaccus, whose penetration enabled him to distinguish a rising genius and virtuous disposition, and whose benevolence inclined him

* Fabius Maximus took Tarentum in his fifth consulate, in the year of Rome 544. Cato was then twenty-three years old; but he had made his first campaign under the same Fabius five years before.

to encourage and conduct it in the path of glory. This nobleman had an estate contiguous to Cato's, where he often heard his servants speak of his neighbour's labourious and temperate manner of life. They told him that he used to go early in the morning to the little towns in the neighbourhood, and defend the causes of such as applied to him ; that from thence he would return to his own farm, where, in a coarse frock, if it was winter, and naked, if it was summer, he would labour with his domestics, and afterwards sit down with them, and eat the same kind of bread, and drink of the same wine. They related also many other instances of his condescension and moderation, and mentioned several of his short sayings that were full of wit and good sense. Valerius, charmed with his character, sent him an invitation to dinner. From that time, by frequent conversation, he found in him so much sweetness of temper and ready wit, that he considered him as an excellent plant, which wanted only cultivation, and deserved to be removed to a better soil. He therefore persuaded him to go to Rome, and apply himself to affairs of state.

There his pleadings soon procured him friends and admirers ; the interest of Valerius, too, greatly assisted his rise to preferment ; so that he was first made a tribune of the soldiers, and afterwards quæstor. And having gained great reputation and honour in those employments, he was joined with Valerius himself in the highest dignities, being his colleague both as consul and as censor.

Among all the ancient senators, he attached himself chiefly to Fabius Maximus, not so much on account of the great power and honour he had acquired, as for the sake of his life and manners, which Cato considered as the best model to form himself upon. So that he made no scruple of differing with the great Scipio, who, though at that time but a young man, yet actuated by a spirit of emulation, was the person who most opposed the power of Fabius. For being sent quæstor with Scipio to the war in Africa, and perceiving that he indulged himself, as usual, in an unbounded expence, and lavished the public money upon the troops, he took the liberty to remonstrate ; observing, " That the expence itself was not the greatest evil, but the consequence of that expence, since it corrupted the ancient simplicity of the soldiery, who when they had more money than was necessary for their

“ subsistence, were sure to bestow it upon luxury and “ riot.” Scipio answered, “ he had no need of a very “ exact and frugal treasurer, because he intended to “ spread all his gains in the ocean of war * , and because “ his country expected from him an account of services “ performed, not of money expended.” Upon this, Cato left Sicily, and returned to Rome, where, together with Fabius, he loudly complained to the senate, “ Of “ Scipio’s immense profusion, and of his passing his “ time, like a boy, in wrestling-rings and theatres, as if “ he had not been sent out to make war, but to exhib- “ it games and shows.” In consequence of this, tri- bunes were sent to examine into the affair, with orders, if the accusation proved true, to bring Scipio back to Rome. Scipio represented to them, “ That success de- “ pended entirely upon the greatness of the prepara- “ tions,” and made them sensible “ That though he “ spent his hours of leisure in a cheerful manner with “ his friends, his liberal way of living had not caused “ him to neglect any great or important business.” With this defence the commissioners were satisfied, and he set sail for Africa.

As for Cato, he continued to gain so much influence and authority by his eloquence, that he was commonly called the Roman Demosthenes; but he was still more celebrated for his manner of living. His excellence as a speaker, awaked a general emulation among the youth to distinguish themselves the same way, and to surpass each other: but few were willing to imitate him in the ancient custom of tilling the field with their own hands, in eating a dinner prepared without fire, and a spare frugal supper; few, like him, could be satisfied with a plain dress and a poor cottage, or think it more honourable not to want the superfluities of life, than to possess them. For the commonwealth, now no longer retained its primitive purity and integrity, by reason of the vast extent of its dominions; the many different affairs under its management, and the infinite number of people that were subject to its command, had introduced a great variety of customs and modes of living. Justly, therefore, was Cato entitled to admiration, when the other citizens were frightened at labour, and enervated by pleasure, and he

* πλησίος ετι τοι πολεμον φρονεσθε —

alone was unconquered by either, not only while young and ambitious, but when old and grey-haired, after his consulship and triumph; like a brave wrestler, who, after he has come off conqueror, observes the common rules, and continues his exercises to the last.

He himself tells us that he never wore a garment that cost more than an hundred *drachmas*; that even when *prætor* or *consul*, he drank the same wine with his slaves; that a dinner never cost him from the market above thirty *ases*: and that he was thus frugal for the sake of his country, that he might be able to endure the harder service in war. He adds, that having got among some goods he was heir to, a piece of Babylonian tapestry, he sold it immediately; that the walls of his country-houses were neither plastered nor white-washed; that he never gave more for a slave than fifteen hundred *drachmas*, as not requiring in his servants delicate shapes and fine faces, but strength and ability to labour, that they might be fit to be employed in his stables, about his cattle, or such like business; and these he thought proper to sell again when they grew old *, that he might have no useless persons to maintain. In a word, he thought nothing cheap that was superfluous: that what a man has no need of, is dear even at a penny; and that it is much better to have fields where the plough goes or cattle feed, than fine gardens and walks that require much watering and sweeping.

Some imputed these things to a narrowness of spirit, while others supposed that he betook himself to this contracted manner of living, in order to correct by his example the growing luxury of the age. For my part, I cannot but charge his using his servants like so many beasts of burden, and turning them off, or selling them, when grown old, to the account of a mean and ungenerous spirit, which thinks that the sole tie between man and man is interest or necessity. But goodness moves in a larger sphere than justice: the obligations of law and

* Cato says in express terms, "A master of a family should sell his old oxen, and all the horned cattle that are of a delicate frame; all his sheep that are not hardy, their wool, their very pelts; he should sell his old waggons, and his old instruments of husbandry; he should sell such of his slaves as were old or infirm, and every thing else that is old or useless. A master of a family should love to sell, not to buy." What a fine contrast there is between the spirit of this old stoic, and that of the liberal-minded, the benevolent Plutarch!

quality reach only to mankind, but kindness and benevolence should be extended to creatures of every species; and these will flow from the breast of a well-natured man, as streams that issue from the living fountain. A good man will take care of his horses and dogs, not only while they are young, but when old and past service. Thus the people of Athens, when they had finished the temple called *Hecatompedon*, set at liberty the beasts of burden that had been chiefly employed in that work, suffering them to pasture at large, free from any farther service. It is said, that one of these afterwards came of its own accord to work, and putting itself at the head of the labouring cattle marched before them to the citadel.—This pleased the people, and they made a decree that it should be kept at the public charge as long as it lived. The graves of Cimon's mares with which he thrice conquered at the Olympic games, are still to be seen near his own tomb. Many have shown particular marks of regard in burying the dogs which they had cherished and been fond of; and, among the rest, Xanthippus, of old, whose dog swam by the side of his galley to Salamis, when the Athenians were forced to abandon their city, was afterwards buried by his master upon a promontory, which to this day is called the *dog's grave*. We certainly ought not to treat living creatures like shoes or household goods, which, when worn out with use, we throw away; and were it only to learn benevolence to human kind, we should be merciful to other creatures. For my own part, I would not sell even an old ox that had laboured for me; much less would I remove for the sake of a little money, a man grown old in my service, from his usual place and diet: for to him, poor man! it would be as bad as banishment; since he could be of no more use to the buyer than he was to the seller. But Cato, as if he took a pride in these things, tells us, that, when consul, he left his war-horse in Spain, to save the public the charge of his freight. Whether such things as these are instances of greatness or littleness of soul, let the reader judge for himself.

He was, however, a man of wonderful temperance. For, when general of the army, he took no more from the public, for himself and those about him, than three Attic *medimni* of wheat a month; and less than a *medimnus* and a half of barley for his horses. And when he was gover-

nor of Sardinia, though his predecessors had put the province to a very great expence for pavilions, bedding, and apparel, and still more by the number of friends and servants they had about them, and by the great and sumptuous entertainments they gave *, he, on the contrary, was as remarkable for his frugality. Indeed, he put the public to no manner of charge. Instead of making use of a carriage, he walked from one town to another, attended only by one officer, who carried his robe and a vessel for libations. But if in these things he appeared plain and easy to those that were under his command, he preserved a gravity and severity in every thing else. For he was inexorable in whatever related to public justice, and inflexibly rigid in the execution of his orders; so that the Roman government had never before appeared to that people either so awful or so amiable †.

This contrast was found, not only in his manners, but in his style, which was elegant, facetious, and familiar, and at the same time grave, nervous, and sententious. Thus Plato tells us, “ The outside of Socrates was that of a satyr and buffoon, but his soul was all virtue, and from within him came such divine and pathetic things, as pierced the heart, and drew tears from the hearers.” And as the same may justly be affirmed of Cato, I cannot comprehend their meaning, who compare his language to that of Lysias. I leave this, however, to be decided by those who are more capable than myself of judging of the several sorts of style used among the Romans: and being persuaded that a man’s disposition may be discovered much better by his speech than by his looks, (though some are of a different opinion) I shall set down some of Cato’s remarkable sayings.

One day when the Romans clamoured violently and unseasonably for a distribution of corn, to dissuade them from it, he thus began his address: *It is a difficult task, my fellow-citizens, to speak to the belly, because it has no ears.* Another time, complaining of the luxury of the Romans, he said, *It was a hard matter to save that city from ruin*

* *καὶ τεπι δινεα καὶ δαταναις καὶ παρατιαις Σαροναταν.*

† His only amusement was to hear the instructions of the poet Ennius, under whom he learned the Greek sciences. He banished usurers from his province, and reduced the interest upon loans almost to nothing.

where a fish was sold for more than an ox. On another occasion, he said, *The Roman people were like sheep, for as those can scarce be brought to stir singly, but all in a body readily follow their leaders, just such are ye.* The men whose counsel you would not take as individuals, lead you with ease in a crowd. Speaking of the power of women, he said, *All men naturally govern the women, we govern all men, and our wives govern us.* But this might be taken from the Apophthegms of Themistocles. For his son directing in most things through his mother, he said, *The Athenians govern the Greeks, I govern the Athenians, you, wife, govern me, and your son governs you; let him then use that power with moderation, which, child as he is, sets him above all the Greeks.* Another of Cato's sayings was, *That the Roman people fixed the value, not only of the several kinds of colours, but of the arts and sciences: For, added he, as the dyers dye that sort of purple which is most agreeable to you, so our youth only study and strive to excel in such things as you esteem and commend.* Exhorting the people to virtue, he said, *If it is by virtue and temperance that you are become great, change not for the worse; but if by intemperance and vice, change for the better; for you are already great enough by such means as these.* Of such as were perpetually soliciting for great offices, he said, *Like men who knew not their way, they wanted lictors always to conduct them.* He found fault with the people for often choosing the same persons consuls; *You either, said he, think the consulate of little worth, or that there are but few worthy of the consulate.* Concerning one of his enemies who led a very profligate and infamous life, he said, *His mother takes it for a curse and not a prayer, when any one wishes this son may survive her.* Pointing to a man who had sold a paternal estate near the sea-side, he pretended to admire him, as one that was stronger than the sea itself; *For, said he, what the sea could not have swallowed without difficulty, this man has taken down with all the ease imaginable.* When king Eumenes* came to Rome, the senate received him with extraordinary respect, and the great men strove which should do him the most honour, but Cato visibly neglected and shunned him. Upon which somebody said, *Why*

* Eumenes went to Rome, in the year of Rome 581. Cato was then thirty-nine years old.

do you shun Eumenes, who is so good a man, and so great a friend to the Romans. That may be, answered Cato, but I look upon a king as a creature that feeds upon human flesh*; and of all the kings that have been so much cried up, I find not one to be compared with an Epaminondas, a Pericles, a Themistocles, a Manius Curius, or with Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas. He used to say that his enemies hated him, because he neglected his own concerns, and rose before day, to mind those of the public. But that he had rather his good actions should go unrewarded, than his bad ones unpunished; and that he pardoned every body's faults sooner than his own. The Romans having sent three ambassadors to the king of Bithynia, of whom one had the gout, another had his skull trepanned, and the third was reckoned little better than a fool, Cato smiled, and said, *They had sent an embassy which had neither feet, head, nor heart.* When Scipio applied to him at the request of Polybius, in behalf of the Achæan exiles †, and the matter was much canvassed in the senate, some speaking for their being restored, and some against it, Cato rose up, and said, *As if we had nothing else to do, we sit here all day debating, whether a few poor old Greeks shall be buried by our grave-diggers, or those of their own country.* The senate then decreed, that the exiles should return home; and Polybius, some days after, endeavoured to procure another meeting of that respectable body, to restore those exiles to their former honours in Achaia. Upon this affair he founded Cato, who answered smiling, *This was just as if Ulysses should have wanted to enter the Cyclops' cave again for a hat and a belt which he had left behind.* It was a saying of his, *That wise men learn more from fools, than fools from the wise; for the wise avoid the error of fools, while fools do not profit by the examples of the wise.* Another of his sayings was, *That he liked a young man that blushed, more than one that turned pale: and that he did not like a soldier who moved his hands in marching, and his feet in fighting, and*

* This jest is taken from that expression in the first book of Homer's Iliad, *δημο^κοπος Ευρίλευς, king that devoureſt thy people.*

† The Achæans, in the first year of the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad, entered into measures for delivering up their country to the king of Persia, but, being discovered, a thousand of them were seized, and compelled to live exiles in Italy. There they continued seventeen years; after which, about three hundred, who were still living, were restored by a decree of the senate, which was particularly made in favour of Polybius, who was one of the number.

who snored louder in bed than he shouted in battle. jesting upon a very fat man, he said, *Of what service to his country can such a body be, which is nothing but belly?* When an epicure desired to be admitted into his friendship, he said, *He could not live with a man whose palate had quicker sensations than his heart.* He used to say, *The soul of a lover lived in the body of another:* And that in all his life he never repented but of three things; the first was, that he had trusted a woman with a secret; the second, that he had gone by sea, when he might have gone by land; and the third, that he had passed one day without having a will by him*. To an old debauchee, he said, *Old age has deformities enough of its own; do not add to it the deformity of vice.* A tribune of the people, who had the character of a poisoner, proposing a bad law, and taking great pains to have it passed, Cato said to him, *Young man, I know not which is most dangerous, to drink what you mix, or to enact what you propose.* Being scurrilously treated by a man who led a dissolute and infamous life, he said, *It is upon very unequal terms that I contend with you; for you are accustomed to be spoken ill of, and can speak it with pleasure; but with me it is unusual to hear it, and disagreeable to speak it.* Such was the manner of his repartees and short sayings.

Being appointed consul along with his friend Valerius Flaccus, the government of that part of Spain which the Romans call *Citerior, Huber,* fell to his lot †. While he was subduing some of the nations there by arms, and winning others by kindness, a great army of barbarians fell upon him, and he was in danger of being driven out with dishonour. On this occasion he sent to desire succours of his neighbours the Celtiberians, who demanded two hundred talents for that service. All the officers of his army thought it intolerable, that the Romans should be obliged to purchase assistance of the barbarians: but

* This has been misunderstood by all the translators, who have agreed in rendering it, “ that he had passed one day idly.”

† As Cato’s troops consisted, for the most part, of raw soldiers, he took great pains to discipline them, considering that they had to deal with the Spaniards, who in their wars with the Romans and Carthaginians, had learned the military art, and were naturally brave and courageous. Before he came to action, he sent away his fleet, that his soldiers might place all their hopes in their valour. With the same view, when he came near the enemy, he took a compass, and posted his army behind them in the plain; so that the Spaniards were between him and his camp.

Cato said, *It is no such great hardship; for if we conquer, we shall pay them at the enemy's expence; and if we are conquered, there will be nobody either to pay or make the demand.* He gained the battle, and every thing afterwards succeeded to his wish. Polybius tells us, that the walls of all the Spanish towns on this side the river Baetis were razed by his command in one day *, notwithstanding the towns were numerous, and their inhabitants brave, Cato himself says, he took more cities than he spent days in Spain; nor is it a vain boast; for they were actually no fewer than four hundred. Though this campaign afforded the soldiers great booty, he gave each of them a pound weight of silver besides, saying, *It was better that many of the Romans should return with silver in their pockets, than a few with gold.* And for his own part, he assures us, that of all that was taken in the war, nothing came to his share but what he eat and drank. *Not that I blame, says he, those that seek their own advantage in these things; but I had rather contend for valour with the brave, than for wealth with the rich, or in rapaciousness with the covetous.* And he not only kept himself clear of extortion, but all that were immediately under his direction. He had five servants with him in this expedition, one of whom, named Paccus, had purchased three boys that were among the prisoners: but when he knew that his master was informed of it, unable to bear the thoughts of coming into his presence, he hanged himself. Upon which Cato sold the boys, and put the money into the public treasure.

While he was settling the affairs of Spain, Scipio the great, who was his enemy, and wanted to break the course of his success, and have the finishing of the war himself, managed matters so as to get himself appointed his successor. After which he made all possible haste to take the command of the army from him. But Cato, hearing of his march, took five companies of foot, and five hundred horse, as a convoy to attend upon Scipio, and as he went to meet him, defeated the Lacetanians,

* As the dread of his name procured him great respect in all the provinces beyond the Iberus, he wrote the same day private letters to the commanders of several fortified towns, ordering them to demolish without delay their fortifications; and assuring them that he would pardon none but such as readily complied with his orders. Every one of the commanders believing the orders to be sent only to himself, immediately beat down their walls and towers. *Liv. 1. xxxiv. c. 15.*

and took among them six hundred Roman deserters, whom he caused to be put to death. And upon Scipio's expressing his displeasure at this, he answered ironically, *Rome would be great indeed, if men of birth would not yield the palm of virtue to the commonalty, and if plebeians, like himself, would contend for excellence with men of birth and quality.* Besides, as the senate had decreed, that nothing should be altered which Cato had ordered and established, the post which Scipio had made so much interest for rather tarnished his own glory than that of Cato; for he continued inactive during that government.

In the mean time, Cato was honoured with a triumph. But he did not act afterwards, like those whose ambition is only for fame, and not for virtue, and who having reached the highest honours, borne the office of consul, and led up triumphs, withdraw from public business, and give up the rest of their days to ease and pleasure. On the contrary, like those who are just entered upon business, and thirst for honour and renown, he exerted himself as if he was beginning his race anew, his services being always ready both for his friends in particular, and for the citizens in general, either at the bar or in the field. For he went with the consul Tiberius Sempronius to Thrace and the Danube*, as his lieutenant. And as a legionary tribune, he attended Manius Aelius Glabrio into Greece, in the war against Antiochus the great; who, next to Hannibal, was the most formidable enemy the Romans ever had. For having recovered almost all the provinces of Asia which Selucus Nicanor had possessed, and reduced many warlike nations of barbarians, he was so much elated as to think the Romans the only match for him in the field. Accordingly he crossed the sea with a powerful army, colouring his design with the specious pretence of restoring liberty to the Greeks, of which, however, they stood in no need, for being lately delivered by the favour of the Romans from the yoke of Philip and the Macedonians, they were free already, and were governed by their own laws.

At his approach, all Greece was in great commotion, and unresolved how to act; being corrupted with the splendid hopes infused by the orators whom Antiochus had

* The year after his consulship, and the second year of the hundred and forty-sixth Olympiad.

gained. Acilius, therefore, sent ambassadors to the several states; Titus Flaminius appeased the disturbances, and kept most of the Greeks in the Roman interest, without using any violent means, as I have related in his life; and Cato confirmed the people of Corinth, as well as those of Patre and Ægium in their duty. He also made a considerable stay at Athens; and it is said, there is still extant a speech of his, which he delivered to the Athenians in Greek, expressing his admiration of the virtue of their ancestors, and his satisfaction in beholding the beauty and grandeur of their city. But this account is not true, for he spoke to them by an interpreter. Not that he was ignorant of Greek; but chose to adhere to the customs of his country, and laugh at those who admired nothing but what was Greek. He, therefore, ridiculed Posthumius Albinus, who had written an history in that language, and made an apology for the improprieties of expression, saying, *He ought to be pardoned, if he wrote it by command of the Amphictyons.* We are assured that the Athenians admired the strength and conciseness of his language; for what he delivered in few words, the interpreter was obliged to make use of many to explain; insomuch that he left them in the opinion, that the expressions of the Greeks flowed only from the lips, while those of the Romans came from the heart*.

Antiochus having blocked up the narrow pass of Thermopylæ with his troops, and added walls and intrenchments to the natural fortifications of the place, sat down there unconcerned, thinking the war could not touch him. And indeed the Romans despairs of forcing the pass. But Cato recollecting the circuit the Persians had taken on a like occasion †, set out in the night with a proper detachment.

When they had advanced a considerable height, the guide, who was one of the prisoners, missed his way, and wandering about, among impracticable places and pre-

* There cannot be a stronger instance than this, that the brief expression of the Spartans, was owing to the native simplicity of their manners, and the sincerity of their hearts. It was the expression of nature.—Artificial and circumlocutory expression, like licentious paintings, are the consequences of licentious life.

† In the Persian war, Leonidas, with three hundred Spartans only, sustained the shock of an innumerable multitude in the pass of Thermopylæ, until the barbarians, fetching a compass round the mountains by bye-ways, came up upon him behind, and cut his party in pieces.

opices, threw the soldiers into inexpressible dread and despair. Cato seeing the danger, ordered his forces to halt, while he, with one Lucius Manlius, who was dexterous in climbing the steep mountains*, went forward with great difficulty and at the hazard of his life, at midnight, without any moon; scrambling among wild olive-trees and steep rocks that still more impeded his view, and added darkness to the obscurity. At last they hit upon a path which seemed to lead down to the enemy's camp. There, they set up marks upon some of the most conspicuous rocks on the top of the mountain Callidromus; and returning the same way, took the whole party with them; whom they conducted by the direction of the marks, and so regained the little path; where they made a proper disposition of the troops. They had marched but a little farther, when the path failed them, and they saw nothing before them but a precipice, which distressed them still more; for they could not yet perceive that they were near the enemy.

The day now began to appear, when one of them thought he heard the sound of human voices, and a little after they saw the Grecian camp and the advanced guard at the foot of the rock. Cato, therefore, made a halt, and sent to acquaint the Firmians that he wanted to speak with them in private†. These were troops whose fidelity and courage he had experienced on the most dangerous occasions. They hastened into his presence, when he thus addressed them: "I want to take one of the enemy alive, to learn of him who they are that compose this advanced guard, and how many in number; and to be informed what is the disposition and order of their whole army, and what preparations they have made to receive us; but the business requires the speed and impetuosity of lions, who rush into a herd of timidous beasts."

When Cato had done speaking, the Firmians, without further preparation, poured down the mountain, surprised the advanced guard, dispersed them, took one armed man, and brought him to Cato. The prisoner informed him, that the main body of the army was en-

* The mountains to the east of the straits of Thermopylæ are comprehended under the name of Oeta, and the highest of them is called Callidromus, at the foot of which is a road sixty feet broad,

Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 15

† Firmium was a Roman colony in the Picene.

amped with the king in the narrow pass, and that the detachment which guarded the heights consisted of six hundred select Ætolians. Cato despising these troops, as well on account of their small number, as their negligence, drew his sword, and rushed upon them with all the alarm of voices and trumpets. The Ætolians no sooner saw him descend from the mountains, than they fled to the main body, and put the whole in the utmost confusion.

At the same time Manius forced the intrenchments of Antiochus below, and poured into the pass with his army, Antiochus himself being wounded in the mouth with a stone, and having some of his teeth struck out, the anguish obliged him to turn his horse and retire. After his retreat, no part of his army could stand the shock of the Romans ; and though there appeared no hopes of escaping by flight, by reason of the straitness of the road, the deep marshes on one side, and rocky precipices on the other, yet they crowded alone through those narrow passages, and pushing each other down, perished miserably, out of fear of being destroyed by the Romans.

Cato, who was never sparing in his own praises, and thought boasting a natural attendant on great actions, is very pompous in his account of this exploit. He says, “ That those who saw him charging the enemy, routing and pursuing them, declared, that Cato owed less to the people of Rome, than the people of Rome owed to Cato ; and that the consul Manius himself coming hot from the fight, took him in his arms as he too came panting from the action, and embracing him a long time, cried out in a transport of joy, that neither he nor the whole Roman people could sufficiently reward Cato's merit.”

Immediately after the battle, the consul sent him with an account of it to Rome, that he might be the first to carry the news of his own achievements. With a favourable wind he sailed to Brundusium ; from thence he reached Tarentum in one day : and having travelled four days more, he arrived at Rome the fifth day after he landed, and was the first that brought the news of the victory. His arrival filled the city with sacrifices and other testimonies of joy, and gave the people so high an opinion of themselves, that they now believed there could be no bounds to their empire or their power.

These are the most remarkable of Cato's actions; and with respect to civil affairs, he appears to have thought the impeaching of offenders and bringing them to justice a thing that well deserved his attention. For he prosecuted several, and encouraged and assisted others in carrying on their prosecutions. Thus he set up Petilius against Scipio the great: but secure in the dignity of his family, and his own greatness of mind, Scipio treated the accusation with the utmost contempt. Cato perceiving he would not be capitally condemned, dropt the accusation; but, with some others who assisted him in the cause, impeached his brother Lucius Scipio, who was sentenced to pay a fine which his circumstances could not answer, so that he was in danger of imprisonment; and it was not without great difficulty, and appealing to the tribunes, that he was dismissed.

We have also an account of a young man who had procured a verdict against an enemy of his father who was lately dead, and had him stigmatized. Cato met him as he was passing through the *forum*, and taking him by the hand, addressed him in these words: "It is thus we are to sacrifice to the *manes* of our parents, not with the blood of goats and lambs, but with the tears and condemnation of their enemies."

Cato, however, did not escape these attacks; but when in the busines of the state, he gave the last handle, was certainly prosecuted, and sometimes in danger of being condemned. For it is said that near fifty impeachments were brought against him, and the last, when he was eighty-six years of age: on which occasion he made use of that memorable expression, *It is hard that I who have lived with men of one generation, should be obliged to make my defence to those of another.* Nor was this the end of his contests at the bar; for, four years after, at the age of ninety*, he impeached Servilius Galba: So that, like Nestor, he lived three generations, and, like

* Plutarch here is not consistent with himself. Towards the beginning of this life he says that Cato was but seventeen years old at the time of Hannibal's success in Italy; and at the conclusion he tells that Cato died just at the beginning of the third Punic war. But Hannibal came into Italy in the year of Rome 534; and the third Punic war broke out seventy years after, in the year of Rome 604. According to this computation, Cato could not be more than eighty-seven years old when he died; and this account is confirmed by Cicero.

him was always in action. In short, after having constantly opposed Scipio in matters of government, he lived until the time of young Scipio, his adopted grandson, and son of Paulus *Æ*Emilius, who conquered Perseus and the Macedonians.

Ten years after his consulship, Cato stood for the office of censor, which was the highest dignity in the republic. For, beside the other power and authority that attended this office, it gave the magistrate a right of inquiry into the lives and manners of the citizens. The Romans did not think it proper that any one should be left to follow his own inclinations without inspection or control, either in marriage, in the procreation of children, in his table, or in the company he kept. But, convinced that in these private scenes of life a man's real character was much more distinguishable than in his public and political transactions, they appointed two magistrates, the one out of the patricians, and the other out of the plebeians, to inspect, to correct, and to chastise such as they found giving into dissipation and licentiousness, and deserting the ancient and established manner of living. These great officers they called Censors: and they had power to deprive a Roman knight of his horse, or to expel a senator that led a vicious and disorderly life. They likewise took an estimate of each citizen's estate, and enrolled them according to their pedigree, quality, and condition.

This office has several other great prerogatives annexed to it: and therefore when Cato solicited it, the principal senators opposed him. The motive to this opposition with some of the patricians was envy; for they imagined it would be a disgrace to the nobility, if persons of a mean and obscure origin were elevated to the highest honour in the state: with others it was fear; for, conscious that their lives were vicious, and that they had departed from the ancient simplicity of manners, they dreaded the austerity of Cato; because they believed he would be stern and inexorable in his office. Having consulted and prepared their measures, they put up seven candidates in opposition to Cato; and imagining that the people wanted to be governed with an easy hand, they soothed them with hopes of a mild censorship. Cato, on the contrary, without condescending to the least flattery or complaisance, in his speeches from the rostrum professed his resolution

to punish every instance of vice ; and loudly declaring that the city wanted great reformation, conjured the people, if they were wise, to choose, not the mildest, but the severest physician. He told them that he was one of that character, and, among the patricians, Valerius Flaccus was another ; and that with him for his colleague, and him only, he could hope to render good service to the commonwealth, by effectually cutting off, like another *hydra*, the spreading luxury and effeminacy of the times. He added, that he saw others pressing into the censorship, in order to exercise that office in a bad manner, because they were afraid of such as would discharge it faithfully.

The Roman people, on this occasion, showed themselves truly great, and worthy of the best of leaders : for, far from dreading the severity of this inflexible man, they rejected those smoother candidates that seemed ready to consult their pleasure in every thing, and chose Valerius Flaccus with Cato ; attending to the latter not as a man that solicited the office of censor, but as one who, already possessed of it, gave out his orders by virtue of his authority.

The first thing Cato did, was to name his friend and colleague Lucius Valerius Flaccus chief of the senate, and to expel many others the house ; particularly Lucius Quatus, who had been consul seven years before, and, what was still a greater honour, was brother to Titus Flamininus *, who overthrew king Philip.

* * * * *

He expelled also Manilius, another senator, whom the general opinion had marked out for Consul, because he had given his wife a kiss in the day-time in the sight of his daughter. “ For his own part,” he said, “ his wife never “ embraced him but when it thundered dreadfully,” adding by way of joke, “ That he was happy when Jupiter “ pleased to thunder.”

He was censured as having merely indulged his envy, when he degraded Lucius who was brother to Scipio the great, and had been honoured with a triumph ; for he took from him his horse ; and it was believed he did it to insult the memory of Scipio Africanus. But there was

* Polybius, Livy, and Cicero make the surname of this family Flamininus.

another thing that rendered him more generally obnoxious, and that was the reformation he introduced in point of luxury. It was impossible for him to begin his attack upon it openly, because the whole body of the people was infected, and therefore he took an indirect method. He caused an estimate to be taken of all apparel, carriages, female ornaments, furniture and utensils; and whatever exceeded fifteen hundred *drachmas* in value, he rated at ten times as much, and imposed a tax according to that valuation. For every thousand *ases* he made them pay three; that finding themselves burdened with the tax, while the modest and frugal, with equal substance, paid much less to the public, they might be induced to retrench their appearance. This procured him many enemies, not only among those who, rather than part with their luxury, submitted to the tax, but among those who lessened the expence of their figure, to avoid it. For the generality of mankind think that prohibition to show their wealth is the same thing as taking it away, and that opulence is seen in the superfluities, not in the necessaries of life. And this (we are told) was what surprised Aristo the philosopher; for he could not comprehend why those that are possessed of superfluities should be accounted happy, rather than such as abound in what is necessary and useful. But Scopas the Thessalian, when one of his friends asked him for something that could be of little use to him, and gave him that as a reason why he should grant his request, made answer, “ It is in these useles and superfluous things “ that I am rich and happy.” Thus the desire of wealth, far from being a natural passion, is a foreign and adventitious one, arising from vulgar opinion.

Cato paid no regard to these complaint, but became still more severe and rigid. He cut off the pipes by which people conveyed water from the public fountains into their houses and gardens, and demolished all the buildings that projected out into the streets. He lowered the price of public works, and farmed out the public revenues at the highest rent they could bear. By these things he brought upon himself the hatred of vast numbers of people: so that Titus Flaminius and his party attacked him, and prevailed with the senate to annul the contracts he had made for repairing the temples and public buildings, as detrimental to the state. Nor did they

stop here, but incited the boldest of the tribunes to accuse him to the people, and fine him two talents. They likewise opposed him very much in his building at the public charge a hall below the senate-house by the *forum*, which he finished notwithstanding, and called the *Porcian* hall.

The people, however, appear to have been highly pleased with his behaviour in this office. For when they erected his statue in the temple of *Health*, they made no mention on the pedestal of his victories and his triumph, but the inscription was to this effect: “In honour of “Cato the Censor, who, when the Roman commonwealth “was degenerating into licentiousness, by good discipline “and wise institutions restored it.”

Before this, he laughed at those who were fond of such honours, and said, “They were not aware that they “plumed themselves upon the workmanship of founders, “statuaries, and painters, while the Romans bore about “a more glorious image of him in their hearts.” And to those that expressed their wonder, that, while many persons of little note had their statues, Cato had none, he said, *He had much rather it should be asked, why he had not a statue, than why he had one.* In short, he was of opinion that a good citizen should not even accept of his due praise, unless it tended to the advantage of the community. Yet of all men he was the most forward to commend himself: for he tells us, that those who were guilty of misdemeanors, and afterwards reproved for them, used to say, “They were excusable; they were not “Catos* :” and that such as imitated some of his actions,

* So we have rendered the passage with the Latin translator. The text stands thus: *ὅς γε καὶ τας ἀμαρτανοντας τε περι τον Κιον, οὐπ' αλεγχομενας, λεγειν φοιν ὡς οὐ εἴσιοι εγκαλειν αυτοις' ο γαρ Κατωνες εισι.* Now we think it much more natural to alter the two last words into *Κατωνες εισι*, if any alteration is necessary, than to break into the construction and change the whole form of the sentence thus: *ὅς γε καὶ περι ΤΩΝ ἀΜΑΡΤΑΝΟΝΤΩΝ τε περι τον Κιον, οὐπ' ΕΑΕΓΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ, λεγειν ειντον φοιν, ο. ο. λ.* and yet it must be so changed to justify the English and the French translations. The English runs thus: *Insomuch, that when some citizens that had been guilty of misdemeanors were reproved for it, he used to say, “They are excusable, for “they are not Catons.”* And the French of Dacier thus: *Jusque-là, que lorsquels quelque citoyens avoient fait des foutes dans la conduite de leur vie, et qu'on les en repronoit, il avoit accoutumé de dire: “ Ils font excusable, car ils ne font pas des Catons.”*

but did it awkwardly, were called *left-handed Catos*. He adds, “ That the senate, in difficult and dangerous times, “ used to cast their eyes upon him, as passengers in a ship “ do upon the pilot in a storm :” and “ That when he “ happened to be absent, they frequently put off the con- “ sideration of matters of importance.” These particulars, indeed, are confirmed by other writers ; for his life, his eloquence, and his age, gave him great authority in Rome.

He was a good father, a good husband, and an excellent economist. And as he did not think the care of his family a mean and trifling thing, which required only a superficial attention, it may be of use to give some account of his conduct in that respect.

He chose his wife rather for her family than her fortune ; persuaded, that though both the rich and the high-born have their pride, yet women of good families are more ashamed of any base and unworthy action, and more obedient to their husbands in every thing that is good and honourable. He used to say, that they who beat their wives or children, laid their sacrilegious hands on the most sacred things in the world ; and that he preferred the character of a good husband to that of a great senator. And he admired nothing more in Socrates, than his living in an easy and quiet manner with an ill-tempered wife and stupid children. When he had a son born, no business, however urgent, except it related to the public, could hinder him from being present while his wife washed and swaddled the infant. For she suckled it herself ; nay, she often gave the breast to the sons of her servants, to inspire them with a brotherly regard for her own.

As soon as the dawn of understanding appeared, Cato took upon him the office of schoolmaster to his son, though he had a slave named Chilo, who was a good grammarius, and taught several other children. But he tells us, he did not chuse that his son should be reprimanded by a slave, or pulled by the ears, if he happened to be slow in learning ; or that he should be indebted to so mean a person for his education. He was, therefore, himself his preceptor in grammar, in law, and in the necessary exercises. For he taught him not only how to throw a dart, to fight hand-to-hand, and to ride, but to box, to endure heat and cold, and to swim the

most rapid rivers. He further acquaints us, that he wrote histories for him with his own hand, in large characters, that without stirring out of his father's house, he might gain a knowledge of the great actions of the ancient Romans and of the customs of his country. He was as careful not to utter an indecent word before his son, as he would have been in the presence of the vestal virgins; nor did he ever bathe with him. A regard to decency in this respect was indeed at that time general among the Romans: For even sons in-law avoided bathing with their fathers in-law, not choosing to appear naked before them; but afterwards the Greeks taught them not to be so scrupulous in uncovering themselves, and they in their turn taught the Greeks to bathe naked even before the women.

While Cato was taking such excellent measures for forming his son to virtue, he found him naturally delicate both in genius and inclination; but as his body was too weak to undergo much hardship, his father was obliged to relax the severity of his discipline, and to indulge him a little in point of diet. Yet, with this constitution, he was an excellent soldier, and particularly distinguished himself under Paulus Aemilius in the battle against Perseus. On this occasion, his sword happening to be struck from his hand, the moisture of which prevented him from grasping it firmly, he turned to some of his companions with great concern, and begged their assistance in recovering it. He then rushed with them into the midst of the enemy, and having, with extraordinary efforts, cleared the place where the sword was lost, he found it, with much difficulty, under heaps of arms, and dead bodies of friends, as well as enemies, piled upon each other. Paulus Aemilius admired this gallant action of the young man; and there is a letter still extant, written by Cato to his son, in which he extremely commends his high sense of honour expressed in the recovery of that sword. The young man afterwards married Tertia, daughter to Paulus Aemilius, and sister to young Scipio; the honour of which alliance was as much owing to his own as to his father's merit. Thus Cato's care in the education of his son answered the end proposed.

He had many slaves which he purchased among the captives taken in war, always choosing the youngest and such as were most capable of instruction, like whelps or

colts that may be trained at pleasure. None of these slaves ever went into any other man's house, except they were sent by Cato or his wife, and if any of them was asked what his master was doing, he always answered, he did not know. For it was a rule with Cato, to have his slaves either employed in the house or asleep, and he liked those best that slept the most kindly, believing that they were better tempered than others that had not so much of that refreshment, and fitter for any kind of business.— And as he knew that slaves will stick at nothing to gratify their passion for women, he allowed them to have the company of his female slaves, upon paying a certain price; but under a strict prohibition of approaching any other women.

When he was a young soldier, and as yet in low circumstances, he never found fault with any thing that was served up to his table, but thought it a shame to quarrel with a servant on account of his palate. Yet afterwards, when he was possessed of an easy fortune, and made entertainments for his friends and the principal officers, as soon as dinner was over, he never failed to correct with leatheren thongs such of his slaves as had not given due attendance, or had suffered any thing to be spoiled. He contrived means to raise quarrels among his servants, and to keep them at variance, ever suspecting and fearing some bad consequence from their unanimity. And,

When any of them were guilty of a capital crime, he gave them a formal trial, and put them to death in the presence of their fellow-servants. As his thirst after wealth increased, and he found that agriculture was rather amusing than profitable, he turned his thoughts to surer dependencies, and employed his money in purchasing ponds, hot-baths, places proper for fullers, and estates in good condition, having pasture-ground and wood-lands. From these he had a great revenue, *such a one*, he used to say, *as Jupiter himself could not disappoint him of*.

He practised usury upon ships in the most blameable manner. His method was to insist that those whom he furnished with money, should take a great number into partnership. When there were full fifty of them, and as many ships, he demanded one share for himself, which he managed by Quintio his freed-man, who sailed and trafficked along with them. Thus, though his gain was great, he did not risk his capital, but only a small part of it.

He likewise lent money to such of his slaves as chose it; and they employed it in purchasing boys, who were afterwards instructed and fitted for service at Cato's expence; and being sold at the year's end by auction, Cato took several of them himself, at the price of the highest bidder, deducting it out of what he had lent. To incline his son to the same economy, he told him, *That to diminish his substance was not the part of a man, but of a widow-woman.* Yet he carried the thing to extravagance, when he hazarded this assertion, *That the man truly wonderful and godlike, and fit to be registered in the lists of glory, was he by whose accounts it should at last appear that he had more than doubled what he had received from his ancestors.*

When Cato was very far advanced in years, there arrived at Rome two ambassadors from Athens*, Carneades the Academic, and Diogenes the Stoic. They were sent to beg off a fine of five hundred talents which had been imposed on the Athenians for contumacy, by the Sicyonians, at the suit of the people of Oropus †. Upon the arrival of these philosophers, such of the Roman youth as had a taste for learning, went to wait on them, and heard them with wonder and delight. Above all, they were charmed with the graceful manners of Carneades, the force of whose eloquence being great, and his reputation equal to his eloquence, had drawn an audience of the most considerable and the politest persons in Rome, and the sound of his fame, like a mighty wind, had filled the whole city. The report ran, that there was come from Greece a man of astonishing powers, whose eloquence more than human, was able to soften and disarm the fiercest passions, and who had made so strong an impression upon the youth, that, forgetting all other pleasures and diversions, they were quite possessed with an enthusiastic love of philosophy.

The Romans were delighted to find it so; nor could they without uncommon pleasure behold their sons thus fondly receive the Grecian literature, and follow these wonderful men. But Cato, from the beginning, was

* Aulus Cellius mentions a third ambassador, Critolaus the *Peripatetic*.

† The Athenians had plundered the city of Oropus. Upon complaint made by the inhabitants, the affair was referred to the determination of the Sicyonians, and the Athenians not appearing to justify themselves, were fined five hundred talents.

alarmed at it. He no sooner perceived this passion for the Grecian learning prevail, but he was afraid that the youth would turn their ambition that way, and prefer the glory of eloquence to that of deeds of arms. But when he found that the reputation of these philosophers rose still higher, and their first speeches were translated into Latin, by Caius Acilius, a senator of great distinction, who had earnestly begged the favour of interpreting them, he had no longer patience, but resolved to dismiss these philosophers upon some decent and specious pretence.

He went therefore to the senate, and complained of the magistrates for detaining so long such ambassadors as those, who could persuade the people to whatever they pleased. "You ought," said he, "to determine their affair as speedily as possible, that returning to their schools, they may hold forth to the Grecian youth, and that our young men may again give attention to the laws and the magistrates." Not that Cato was induced to this by any particular pique to Carneades, which some suppose to have been the case, but by his aversion to philosophy, and his making it a point to show his contempt of the polite studies and learning of the Greeks. Nay, he scrupled not to affirm, "That Socrates himself was a prating seditious fellow, who used his utmost endeavours to tyrannize over his country, by abolishing its customs, and drawing the people over to opinions contrary to the laws." And, to ridicule the slow methods of Isocrates's teaching, he said, "His scholars grew old in learning their art, as if they intended to exercise it in the shades below, and to plead causes there." And to dissuade his son from those studies, he told him in a louder tone than could be expected from a man of his age, and, as it were, in an oracular and prophetic way, *That when the Romans came thoroughly to imbibe the Grecian literature, they would lose the empire of the world.* But time has shown the vanity of that invidious assertion; for Rome was never at a higher pitch of greatness, than when she was most perfect in the Grecian erudition, and most attentive to all manner of learning *.

* Rome had indeed a very extensive empire in the Augustan age, but, at the same time, she lost her ancient constitution and her liberty. Not that the learning of the Romans contributed to that loss, but their irreligion, their luxury, and corruption, occasioned it.

Nor was Cato an enemy to the Grecian philosophers only, but looked upon the physicians also with a suspicious eye. He had heard, it seems, of the answer which Hippocrates gave the king of Persia, when he sent for him, and offered him a reward of many talents, “ I will never make use of my art in favour of barbarians who are enemies to the Greeks.” This he said was an oath which all the physicians had taken, and therefore he advised his son to beware of them all. He added, that he himself had written a little treatise, in which he had set down his method of cure *, and the regimen he prescribed, when any of his family were sick ; that he never recommended fasting, but allowed them herbs, with duck, pigeon, or hare : such kind of diet being light and suitable for sick people, having no other inconvenience but its making them dream ; and that with these remedies, and this regimen, he preserved himself and his family. But his self-sufficiency in this respect went not unpunished ; for he lost both his wife and son. He himself, indeed, by his strong make and good habit of body, lasted long ; so that even in old age he frequently indulged his inclination for the sex, and at an unseasonable time of life married a young woman. It was on the following pretence.

After the death of his wife, he married his son to the daughter of Paulus Aemilius, the sister of Scipio ; and continued a widower, but had a young female slave that came privately to his bed. It could not, however, be long a secret in a small house, with a daughter-in-law in it ; and one day as the favourite slave passed by with a haughty and flaunting air, to go to the censor’s chamber †, young Cato gave her a severe look, and turned his back upon her, but said not a word. The old man was soon informed of this circumstance, and finding that this kind of commerce displeased his son and his daughter-in-

* Cato was a worse quack than Dr. Hill. His medical receipts, which may be found in his treatise of country affairs, are either very simple or very dangerous ; and fasting, which he exploded, is better than them all. Duck, pigeon, and hare, which if we may believe Plutarch, he gave his sick people as a light diet, are certainly the strongest and most indigestible kinds of food, and their making them dream was a proof of it.

† Ille Pater rectorque deum, cui dextra trisulcis

Ignibus armata est, qui nutu concutit orbem,

Induitur faciem tauri —————

Quid. Met. lib. v.

law, he did not expostulate with them, nor take the least notice. Next morning he went to the *forum*, according to custom, with his friends about him; and as he went along, he called aloud to one Saloniūs, who had been his secretary, and now was one of his train, and asked him, “Whether he had provided a husband for his ‘daughter?’” Upon his answering, “That he had not, “nor should without consulting his best friend;” Cato said, “Why then, I have found out a very fit husband “for her, if she can bear with the disparity of age: for “in other respects he is unexceptionable, but he is very “old.” Saloniūs replying, “That he left the disposal “of her entirely to him, for she was under his protec-“tion, and had no dependence but upon his bounty;” Cato said without farther ceremony, “Then I will be “your son-in-law.” The man at first was astonished at the proposal, as may easily be imagined; believing Cato past the time of life for marrying, and knowing himself far beneath an alliance with a family that had been honoured with the consulate and a triumph. But when he saw that Cato was in earnest, he embraced the offer with joy, and the marriage-contract was signed as soon as they came to the *forum*.

While they were busied in preparing for the nuptials, young Cato, taking his relations with him, went and asked his father, “What offence he had committed, that “he was going to put a mother-in-law upon him?” Cato immediately answered: “Ask not such a question, “my son; for, instead of being offended, I have reason “to praise your whole conduct: I am only desirous of “having more such sons, and leaving more such citizens “to my country.” But this answer is said to have been given long before, by Pisistratus the Athenian tyrant, who, when he had sons by a former wife already grown up, married a second, Timonassa of Argos, by whom he is said to have had two sons more, Jophon and Thestalus.

By this wife Cato had a son, whom he called Saloniūs, after his mother's father. As for his eldest son Cato, he died in his praetorship. His father often makes mention of him in his writings as a brave and worthy man. He bore this loss with the moderation of a philosopher, applying himself with his usual activity to affairs of state. For he did not, like Lucius Lucullus afterwards, and Metellus Pius, think age an exemption from the service

of the public, but considered that service as his indispensable duty ; nor yet did he act as Scipio Africanus had done, who finding himself attacked and opposed by envy in his course of glory, quitted the administration, and spent the remainder of his days in retirement and inaction. But, as one told Dicenius, that the most honourable death was to die in possession of sovereign power, so Cato esteemed that the most honourable old age, which was spent in serving the commonwealth. The amusements in which he passed his leisure hours, were the writing of books, and tilling the ground : and this is the reason of our having so many treatises on various subjects, and histories of his composing *.

In his younger days he applied himself to agriculture, with a view to profit ; for he used to say, he had only two ways of increasing his income, *labour and parsimony* : but as he grew old, he regarded it only by way of theory and amusement. He wrote a book concerning country affairs †, in which, among other things, he gives rules for making cakes, and preserving fruit ; for he was desirous to be thought curious and particular in every thing. He kept a better table in the country than in the town ; for he always invited some of his acquaintance in the neighbourhood to sup with him. With these he passed the time in cheerful conversation, making himself agreeable not only to those of his own age, but to the young ; for he had a thorough knowledge of the world, and had either seen himself, or heard from others, a variety of things that were curious and entertaining. He looked upon the table as one of the best means of forming friendships : and at his, the conversation generally turned upon the praises of great and excellent men among the Romans : as for the bad and the unworthy, no mention was made of them, for he would not allow in his company one word, either good or bad, to be said of such kind of men.

The last service he is said to have done the public, was the destruction of Carthage. The younger Scipio indeed gave the finishing stroke to that work, but it was under-

* Beside an hundred and fifty orations, and more, that he left behind him, he wrote a treatise of *military discipline*, and books of *antiquities* ; in two of these he treats of the foundation of the cities of Italy ; the other five contained the Roman history, particularly a narrative of the first and second Punic war.

† This is the only work of his that remains entire ; of the rest we have only fragments.

taken chiefly by the advice and at the instances of Cato. The occasion of the war was this: The Carthaginians, and Massinissa king of Numidia, being at war with each other, Cato was sent into Africa to inquire into the causes of the quarrel. Massinissa from the first had been a friend to the Romans, and the Carthaginians were admitted into their alliance after the great overthrow they received from Scipio the elder, but upon terms which deprived them of great part of their dominions, and imposed a heavy tribute *. When Cato arrived at Carthage, he found that city not in the exhausted and humble condition which the Romans imagined, but full of men fit to bear arms, abounding in money, in arms, and warlike stores, and not a little elated in the thought of its being so well provided. He concluded, therefore, that it was now time for the Romans to endeavour to settle the points in dispute between the Numidians and Carthage; and that, if they did not soon make themselves masters of that city, which was their old enemy, and retained strong resentments of the usage she had lately received, and which had not only recovered herself after her losses, but was prodigiously increased in wealth and power, they would soon be exposed to all their former dangers. For this reason he returned in all haste to Rome, where he informed the senate, "That the "feats and other misfortunes which had happened to the "Carthaginians, had not so much drained them of their "forces, as cured them of their folly; and that, in all "probability, instead of a weaker, they had made them a "more skilful and warlike enemy: that their war with the "Numidians was only a prelude to future combats with "the Romans; and that the late peace was a mere name, "for they considered it only as a suspension of arms, "which they were willing to avail themselves of, till they "had a favourable opportunity to renew the war."

It is said, that at the conclusion of his speech he shook the lap of his gown, and purposely dropped some Libyan figs; and when he found the senators admired them for their size and beauty, he told them, "That the country

* Scipio Africanus obliged the Carthaginians, at the conclusion of the second Punic war, to deliver up their fleet to the Romans, yield to Massinissa part of Syphax's dominions, and pay the Romans ten thousand talents. This peace was made in the third year of the hundred and forty-fourth Olympiad, two hundred years before the Christian era.

" where they grew was but three days sail from Rome." But what is a stronger instance of his enmity to Carthage, he never gave his opinion in the senate upon any other point whatever, without adding these words: " And my opinion is, that Carthage should be destroyed." Scipio, surname Nasica, made it a point to maintain the contrary, and concluded all his speeches thus: " And my opinion is, that Carthage should be left standing." It is very likely that this great man, perceiving that the people were come to such a pitch of insolence, as to be led by it into the greatest excesses (so that in the pride of prosperity they could not be restrained by the senate, but by their overgrown power were able to draw the government what way they pleased), thought it best that Carthage should remain to keep them in awe, and to moderate their presumption. For he saw that the Carthaginians were not strong enough to conquer the Romans, and yet too respectable an enemy to be despised by them. On the other hand, Cato thought it dangerous, while the people were thus inebriated and giddy with power, to suffer a city which had always been great, and which was now grown sober and wise through its misfortunes, to lie watching every advantage against them. It appeared to him, therefore, the wisest course, to have all outward dangers removed from the commonwealth, that it might be at leisure to guard against internal corruption *.

Thus Cato, they tell us, occasioned the third and last war against the Carthaginians. But as soon as it began he died, having first prophesied of the person that should put an end to it; who was then a young man, and had

* So we have rendered the last member of the sentence, with the Latin, *ut ita opportunius intestinis malis medendis vacarent*. In the original it is, *αναφορας αυτοις προς τας αιχοδεις ἀμαρτιας απολιποντας*; and one of the senses of *αναφορα* is an alleviation, a resource; so Euripides in *Orest.* *ετιν θητιν αναφορα την συμφορα*. Yet the former English translator and the French have rendered it very differently: How justly let the learned reader judge!

The English runs thus: *At a time when, through their depravity and corruption, they had so many dangers hanging over their heads at home.*

The French thus: *Lorsqu'on lui laissoit au dedans tous les moyens de se porter à tous les excès et de commettre les fautes les plus terribles.*

What led Dacier wrong, was, we suppose, his finding it *απολιποντας*, in the text, in the past time; but it is very clear to us, it should be read *απολιποντας*, in the present.

only a tribune's command in the army, but was giving extraordinary proofs of his conduct and valour. The news of these exploits being brought to Rome, Cato cried out,

— He is the soul of council;
The rest are shadows vain.

This Scipio soon confirmed by his actions.

Cato left one son by his second wife, who, as we have already observed, was surnamed Saloniūs, and a grandson by the son of his first wife who died before him. Saloniūs died in his praetorship, leaving a son named Marcus, who came to be consul, and was grandfather * to Cato the philosopher, the best and most illustrious man of his time.

ARISTIDES AND CATO COMPARED.

HAVING thus given a detail of the most memorable actions of these great men, if we compare the whole life of the one, with that of the other, it will not be easy to discern the difference between them, the eye being attracted by so many striking resemblances. But if we examine the several parts of their lives distinctly, as we do a poem or a picture, we shall find, in the first place, this common to them both, that they rose to high stations and great honour in their respective commonwealths, not by the help of family connections, but merely by their own virtue and abilities. It is true, that when Aristides raised himself, Athens was not in her grandeur, and the demagogues and chief magistrates he had to deal with, were men of moderate and nearly equal fortunes. For estates of the highest class were then only five hundred *medimni*; of those of the second order, who were knights, three hundred; and of those of the third order, who were called *Zeugitæ*, two hundred. But Cato, from a little village and a country life, launched into the Roman government, as into a boundless ocean, at a time when it

* This is a mistake in Plutarch: for Saloniūs was the grandfather, and Marcus the father of Cato of Utica.

was not conducted by the Curii, the Fabricii, and Hostiliii, nor received for its magistrates and orators, men of narrow circumstances who worked with their own hands, from the plough and the spade, but was accustomed to regard greatness of family, opulence, distributions among the people, and servility in courting their favour; for the Romans, elated with their power and importance, loved to humble those who stood for the great offices of state. And it was not the same thing to be rivalled by a Themistocles, who was neither distinguished by birth nor fortune (for he is said not to have been worth more than three, or, at the most, five talents, when he first applied himself to public affairs), as to have to contest with a Scipio Africanus, a Servius Galba, or a Quintius Flaminius without any other assistance or support, but a tongue accustomed to speak with freedom in the cause of justice.

Besides, Aristides was only one among ten, that commanded at Marathon and Platea; whereas Cato was chosen one of the two consuls, from a number of competitors, and one of the two censors, though opposed by seven candidates, who were some of the greatest and most illustrious men in Rome.

It should be observed too, that Aristides was never principal in any action; for Miltiades had the chief honour of the victory at Marathon; Themistocles of that at Salamis; and the palm of the important day at Platea, as Herodotus tells us, was adjudged to Pausanias. Nay, even the second place was disputed with Aristides, by Sophanes, Aminias, Callimachus, and Cynægirus, who greatly distinguished themselves on that occasion.

On the other hand, Cato not only stood first in courage and conduct, during his own consulate, and in the war with Spain; but when he acted at Thermopylae, only as a tribune, under the auspices of another, he gained the glory of the victory: for he it was that unlocked the pass for the Romans to rush upon Antiochus, and that brought the war upon the back of the king, who minded only what was before him. That victory, which was manifestly the work of Cato, drove Asia out of Greece, and opened the passage for Scipio to that continent afterwards.

Both of them were equally victorious in war, but Aris-tides miscarried in the administration, being banished and oppressed by the faction of Themistocles; whilst Cato, though he had for antagonists, almost all the greatest and most powerful men in Rome, who kept contending with him even in his old age, like a skilful wrestler, always held his footing. Often impeached before the people, and often the manager of an impeachment, he generally succeeded in his prosecution of others, and was never condemned himself; secure in that bulwark of life, the defensive and offensive armour of eloquence; and to this, much more justly than to fortune, or his guardian *genius*, we may ascribe his maintaining his dignity unblemished to the last. For Antipater bestowed the same encomium upon Aristotle the philosopher, in what he wrote concerning him after his death, that, among his other qualities, he had the very extraordinary one, of persuading people to whatever he pleased.

That the art of governing cities and commonwealths, is the chief excellence of man, admits not of a doubt; and it is generally agreed, that the art of governing a family, is no small ingredient in that excellence. For a city, which is only a collection of families, cannot be prosperous in the whole, unless the families that compose it be flourishing and prosperous. And Lycurgus, when he banished gold and silver out of Sparta, and gave the citizens, instead of it, money made of iron, that had been spoiled by the fire, did not design to excuse them from attending to economy, but only to prevent luxury, which is a tumour and inflammation caused by riches; that every one might have the greater plenty of the necessaries and conveniences of life. By this establishment of his, it appears, that he saw farther than any other legislator; since he was sensible that every society has more to apprehend from its needy members, than from the rich. For this reason, Cato was no less attentive to the management of his domestic concerns, than to that of public affairs: and he not only increased his own estate, but became a guide to others in economy and agriculture, concerning which he collected many useful rules.

But Aris-tides by his indigence brought a disgrace upon justice itself, as if it were the ruin and impoverishment of families, and a quality that is profitable to any one

rather than the owner. Hesiod, however, has said a good deal to exhort us both to justice and economy, and inveighs against idleness as the source of injustice. The same is well represented by Homer * —

The culture of the field, which fills the stores
With happy harvests; and domestic cares,
Which rear the smiling progeny, no charms
Could boast for me; 'twas mine, to fail
The gallant ship, to sound the trump of war,
To point the polish'd spear, and hurl the quivering lance.

By which the poet intimates, that those who neglect their own affairs, generally support themselves by violence and injustice. For what the physicians say of oil, that used outwardly it is beneficial, but pernicious when taken inwardly, is not applicable to the just man; nor is it true, that he is useful to others, and unprofitable to himself and his family. The politics of Aristides seem, therefore, to have been defective in this respect, if it is true (as most writers assert) that he left not enough either for the portions of his daughters, or for the expences of his funeral.

Thus Cato's family produced praetors and consuls to the fourth generation; for his grandsons and their children bore the highest offices: whereas, though Aristides was one of the greatest men in Greece, yet the most distressful poverty prevailing among his descendants, some of them were forced to get their bread by showing tricks of sleight of hand, or telling fortunes, and others, to receive public alms, and not one of them entertained a sentiment worthy of their illustrious ancestor.

It is true, this point is liable to some dispute; for poverty is not dishonourable in itself, but only when it is the effect of idleness, intemperance, prodigality, and folly. And when, on the contrary, it is associated with all the virtues, in the sober, the industrious, the just, and valiant statesman, it speaks a great and elevated mind. For an attention to little things, renders it impossible to do any thing that is great; nor can he provide for the wants of others, whose own are numerous and craving. The great and necessary provision for a statesman is, not riches, but a

* *Odyl. l. iv.*

contented mind, which requiring no superfluities for itself, leaves a man at full liberty to serve the commonwealth. God is absolutely exempt from wants ; and the virtuous man, in proportion as he reduces his wants, approaches nearer to the Divine perfection. For as a body well built for health, needs nothing exquisite, either in food or clothing, so a rational way of living, and a well-governed family, demands a very moderate support. Our possessions, indeed, should be proportioned to the use we make of them ; he that amasses a great deal, and uses but little, is far from being satisfied and happy in his abundance ; for if, while he is solicitous to increase it, he has no desire of those things which wealth can procure, he is foolish ; if he does desire them, and yet out of meanness of spirit will not allow himself in their enjoyment, he is miserable.

I would fain ask Cato himself this question, “ If riches are to be enjoyed, why, when possessed of a great deal, did he plume himself upon being satisfied with a little ? ” If it be a commendable thing, as indeed it is, to be contented with coarse bread, and such wine as our servants and labouring people drink, and not to covet purple and elegantly plastered houses, then Aristides, Epaminondas, Manius Curius, and Caius Fabricius were perfectly right, in neglecting to acquire what they did not think proper to use. For it was by no means necessary for a man who, like Cato, could make a delicious meal on turnips, and loved to boil them himself, while his wife baked the bread, to talk so much about a farthing, and to write by what means a man might soonest grow rich. Indeed, simplicity and frugality are then only great things, when they free the mind from the desire of superfluities and the anxieties of care. Hence it was that Aristides, in the trial of Callias, said, *It was fit for none to be ashamed of poverty, but those that were poor against their wills ; and that they who, like him, were poor out of choice, might glory in it.* For it is ridiculous to suppose that the poverty of Aristides was to be imputed to sloth, since he might, without being guilty of the least baseness, have raised himself to opulence, by the spoil of one barbarian, or the plunder of one tent. But enough of this.

As to military achievements, those of Cato added but little to the Roman empire, which was already very

great; whereas the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, the most glorious and important actions of the Greeks, are numbered among those of Aristides. And surely Antiochus is not worthy to be mentioned with Xerxes, nor the demolishing of the walls of the Spanish towns, with the destruction of so many thousands of barbarians, both by sea and land. On these great occasions Aristides was inferior to none in real service, but he left the glory and the laurels, as he did the wealth, to others who had more need of them, because he was above them.

I do not blame Cato for perpetually boasting and giving himself the preference to others, though in one of his pieces he says, *It is absurd for a man either to commend or depreciate himself;* but I think the man who is often praising himself, not so complete in virtue as the modest man, who does not even want others to praise him. For modesty is a very proper ingredient in the mild and engaging manner necessary for a statesman; on the other hand, he who demands any extraordinary respect, is difficult to please, and liable to envy. Cato was very subject to this fault, and Aristides entirely free from it. For Aristides, by co-operating with his enemy Themistocles in his greatest actions, and being, as it were, a guard to him, while he had the command, restored the affairs of Athens: whereas Cato, by counteracting Scipio, had well nigh blasted and ruined that expedition of his against Carthage, which brought down Hannibal, who till then was invincible. And he continued to raise suspicions against him, and to persecute him with calumnies, till at last he drove him out of Rome, and got his brother stigmatized with the shameful crime of embezzling the public money.

As for temperance, which Cato always extolled as the greatest of virtues, Aristides preserved it in its utmost purity and perfection; while Cato, by marrying so much beneath himself, and at an unseasonable time of life, stood fully impeached in that respect. For it was by no means decent, at his great age, to bring home to his son and daughter-in-law, a young wife, the daughter of his secretary, a man who received wages of the public. Whether he did it merely to gratify his appetite, or to revenge the affront which his son put upon his favourite slave, both the cause and the thing

were dishonourable. And the reason which he gave to his son was ironical and groundless. For if he was desirous of having more children like him, he should have looked out before for some woman of family, and not have put off the thoughts of marrying again, till his commerce with so mean a creature was discovered ; and when it was discovered, he ought to have chosen for his father-in-law, not the man who would most readily accept his proposals, but one whose alliance would have done him the most honour.

PHILOPOE MEN.

AT Mantinea, there was a man of great quality and power named Cassander*, who, being obliged, by a reverse of fortune, to quit his own country, went and settled at Megalopolis. He was induced to fix there, chiefly by the friendship which subsisted between him and Craugis†, the father of Philopœmen, who was in all respects an extraordinary man. While his friend lived, he had all that he could wish ; and being desirous, after his death, to make some return for his hospitality, he educated his orphan son in the same manner as Homer says Achilles was educated by Phœnix, and formed him from his infancy to generous sentiments and royal virtues.

But when he was past the years of childhood, Ecdemus and Demophanes ‡ had the principal care of him. They were both Megalopolitans ; who, having learned the academic philosophy of Arcefilaus ||, applied it, above all the men of their time, to action and affairs of state. They delivered their country from tyranny, by providing persons privately to take off Aristodemus ; they were assisting to Aratus, in driving out Necocles the tyrant of Sicyon : and, at the request of the people of Cyrene,

* Pausanias calls him *Cleander* ; and some manuscripts of Plutarch agree with him. So it is also in the translation of Guarini.

† Craugis in Pausanias ; in the inscription of a statue of Philopœmen at Tegeæ ; and in an ancient collection of epigrams.

‡ In Pausanias their names are Ecdelus and Megalophanes.

|| Arcefilaus was founder of the middle Academy, and made some alteration in the doctrine which had obtained.

whose government was in great disorder, they failed thither, settled it on the foundation of good laws, and thoroughly regulated the commonwealth. But among all their great actions, they valued themselves most on the education of Philopœmen, as having rendered him, by the principles of philosophy, a common benefit to Greece. And indeed, as he came the last of so many excellent generals, Greece loved him extremely, as the child of her old age, and, as his reputation increased, enlarged his power. For which reason, a certain Roman calls him *the last of the Greeks*, meaning that Greece had not produced one great man, or one that was worthy of her, after him.

His visage was not very homely *, as some imagine it to have been; for we see his statue still remaining at Delphi. As for the mistake of his hostess at Megara, it is said to be owing to his easiness of behaviour and the simplicity of his garb. She having word brought that the general of the Achæans was coming to her house, was in great care and hurry to provide his supper, her husband happening to be out of the way. In the mean time Philopœmen came, and, as his habit was ordinary, she took him for one of his own servants, or for an harbinger, and desired him to assist her in the busines of the kitchen. He presently threw off his cloak, and began to cleave some wood; when the master of the house returning, and seeing him so employed, said, "What is the meaning of this Philopœmen?" He replied, in broad Doric, "I am paying the fine of my deformity." Titus Flaminius railing him one day upon his make, said, "What fine hands and legs you have! but then you have no belly;" and he was indeed very slender in the waist. But this raillery might rather be referred to the condition of his fortune: for he had good soldiers, both horse and foot, but very often wanted money to pay them. These stories are subjects of disputations in the schools.

As to his manners; we find that his pursuits of honour were too much attended with roughness and passion. Epaminondas was the person whom he proposed his pattern; and he succeeded in imitating his activity, his

* Pausanias assures us that his visage was homely, but at the same time declares, that in point of size and strength no man in Peloponnesus exceeded him.

firewōnes, and contempt of riches; but his choleric, contentious humour prevented his attaining to the mildness, the gravity, and candour of that great man in political disputes; so that he seemed rather fit for war, than for the civil administration. Indeed, from a child he was fond of every thing in the military way, and readily entered into the exercizes which tended to that purpos, those of riding, for instance, and handling of arms. As he seemed well formed for wrestling too, his friends and governors advised him to improve himself in that art; which gave him occasion to ask, whether that might be consistent with his proficiency as a soldier? They told him the truth; that the habit of body and manner of life, the diet and exercize of a soldier and a wrestler were entirely different: that the wrestler must have much sleep and full meals, stated times of exercise and rest, every little departure from his rules being very prejudicial to him; whereas the soldier should be prepared for the most irregular changes of living, and should chiefly endeavour to bring himself to bear the want of food and sleep, without difficulty. Philopœmen hearing this, not only avoided and derided the exercise of wrestling himself; but afterwards, when he came to be general, to the utmost of his power exploded the whole art, by every mark of disgrace and expression of contempt; satisfied that it rendered persons, who were the most fit for war, quite useleſs and unable to fight on necessary occasions.

When his governors and preceptors had quitted their charge, he engaged in those private incursions into Laconia which the city of Megalopolis made for the sake of booty; and in these he was sure to be the first to march out, and the last to return.

His leisure he spent either in the chase, which increased both his strength and activity, or in the tillage of the field. For he had a handsome estate, twenty furlongs from the city, to which he went every day after dinner, or after supper; and, at night, he threw himself upon an ordinary mattres, and slept as one of the labourers. Early in the morning he rose and went to work along with his vine dressers or ploughmen; after which he returned to the town, and employed his time about the public affairs with his friends, and with the magistrates. What he gained in the wars he laid out upon horses or

arms, or in the redeeming of captives: but he endeavoured to improve his own estate the surest way in the world, by agriculture I mean*. Nor did he apply himself to it in a cursory manner, but in full conviction that the surest way not to touch what belongs to others, is to take care of one's own.

He spent some time in hearing the discourses and studying the writings of philosophers; but selected such as he thought might assist his progress in virtue. Among the poetical images in Homer, he attended to those which seemed to excite and encourage valour: and as to other authors, he was most converiant in the *Tactics* of Evangelus †, and in the histories of Alexander; being persuaded that learning ought to conduce to action, and not be considered as mere pastime and an useless fund for talk. In the study of *Tactics*, he neglected those plans and diagrams that are drawn upon paper, and exemplified the rules in the field; considering with himself as he travelled, and pointing out to those about him, the difficulties of steep or broken ground; and how the ranks of an army must be extended or closed, according to the difference made by rivers, ditches, and defiles.

He seems, indeed, to have set rather too great a value on military knowledge; embracing war as the most extensive exercise of virtue, and despising those that were not versed in it, as persons entirely useless.

He was now thirty years old, when Cleomenes ‡, king of the Lacedæmonians, surprised Megalopolis in the night, and having forced the guards, entered and seized the market-place. Philopœmen ran to succour the inhabitants, but was not able to drive out the enemy, though he fought with the most determined and desperate valour.

* Columella says agriculture is next akin to philosophy. It does, indeed, afford a person who is capable of speculation, an opportunity of meditating on nature; and such meditations enlarge the mind.

† This author is mentioned by Arrian, who also wrote a discourse on *Tactics*. He observes that the treatise of Evangelus, as well as those of several other writers on that subject, were become of little use in his time, because they had omitted several things as sufficiently known in their days, which, however, then wanted explication. This may serve as a caution to future writers on this and such like subjects.

‡ Cleomenes made himself master of Megalopolis in the second year of the hundred and thirty-ninth Olympiad, which was the two hundred and twenty-first before the Christian era.

He prevailed, however, so far as to give the people opportunity to steal out of the town, by maintaining the combat with the pursuers, and drawing Cleomenes upon himself, so that he retired the last with difficulty, and after prodigious efforts; being wounded and having his horse killed under him. When they had gained Messene, Cleomenes made them an offer of their city with their lands and goods. Philopœmen perceiving they were glad to accept the proposal, and in haste to return, strongly opposed it, representing to them in a set speech, that Cleomenes did not want to restore them their city, but to be master of the citizens, in order that he might be more secure of keeping the place: that he could not sit still long to watch empty houses and walls, for the very solitude would force them away. By this argument he turned the Megalopolitans from their purpose, but at the same time furnished Cleomenes with a pretence to plunder the town and demolish the greatest part of it, and to march off loaded with booty.

Soon after, Antigonus came down to assist the Achæans against Cleomenes; and finding that he had possessed himself of the heights of Sellavia, and blocked up the passages, Antigonus drew up his army near him, with a resolution to force him from his post. Philopœmen, with his citizens, was placed among the cavalry, supported by the Illyrian foot, a numerous and gallant body of men, who closed that extremity. They had orders to wait quietly, until from the other wing, where the king fought in person, they should see a red robe lifted up upon the point of a spear. The Achæans kept their ground, as they were directed: but the Illyrian officers with their corps attempted to break in upon the Lacedæmonians. Euclidas, the brother of Cleomenes, seeing this opening made in the enemy's army, immediately ordered a party of his light-armed infantry to wheel about and attack the rear of the Illyrians, thus separated from the horse. This being put in execution, and the Illyrians harassed and broken, Philopœmen perceived that it would be no difficult matter to drive off that light-armed party, and that the occasion called for it. First he mentioned the thing to the king's officers, but they rejected the hint, and considered him as no better than a madman, his reputation being not yet respectable enough to justify

such a movement. He, therefore, with his Megalopolitans, falling upon that light-armed corps himself, at the first encounter put them in confusion, and soon after routed them with great slaughter. Desirous yet farther to encourage Antigonus's troops, and quickly to penetrate into the enemy's army, which was now in some disorder, he quitted his horse: and advancing on foot, in his horseman's coat of mail and other heavy accoutrements, upon rough uneven ground, that was full of springs and bogs, he was making his way with extreme difficulty, when he had both his thighs struck through with a javelin, so that the point came through on the other side, and the wound was great though not mortal. At first he stood still as if he had been thackled, not knowing what method to take. For the thong in the middle of the javelin rendered it difficult to be drawn out; nor would any about him venture to do it. At the same time the fight being at the hottest, and likely to be soon over, honour and indignation pushed him on to take his share in it; and therefore, by moving his legs this way and that, he broke the staff, and then ordered the pieces to be pulled out. Thus set free, he ran, sword in hand, through the first ranks, to charge the enemy, at the same time animating the troops, and filling them with emulation.

Antigonus, having gained the victory, to try his Macedonian officers, demanded of them, "Why they had brought on the cavalry before he gave them the signal?" By way of apology, they said, "They were obliged, against their will, to come to action, because a young man of Megalopolis had begun the attack too soon." "That young man," replied Antigonus inquiring, "has performed the office of an experienced general."

This action, as we may easily imagine, lifted Philopoemen into great reputation, so that Antigonus was very desirous of having his service in the wars, and offered him a considerable command with great appointments; but he declined it, because he knew he could not bear to be under the direction of another. Not choosing, however, to be idle, and hearing there was a war in Crete, he sailed thither, to exercise and improve his military talents. When he had served there a good while, along with a set of brave men, who were not only versed in ad-

the stratagems of war, but temperate besides, and strict in their manner of living, he returned with so much renown to the Achæans, that they immediately appointed him general of horse. He found that the cavalry made use of small and mean horses, which they picked up as they could when they were called to a campaign; that many of them shunned the wars, and sent others in their stead; and that shameful ignorance of service*, with its consequence, timidity, prevailed among them all. The former generals had connived at this, because it being a degree of honour among the Achæans to serve on horseback, the cavalry had great power in the commonwealth, and considerable influence in the distribution of rewards and punishments. But Philopœmen would not yield to such considerations, or grant them the least indulgence. Instead of that, he applied to the several towns, and to each of the young men in particular, rousing them to a sense of honour, punishing where necessity required, and practising them in exercise, reviews, and mock-battles in places of the greatest resort. By these means in a little time he brought them to surprising strength and spirit; and, what is of most consequence in discipline, rendered them so light and quick, that all their evolutions and movements, whether performed separately or together, were executed with so much readiness and address, that their motion was like that of one body actuated by an internal voluntary principle. In the great battle which they fought with the Ætolians and Eleans near the river Larissus†, Demophantus, general of the Elcan horse, advanced before the lines, at full speed, against Philopœmen. Philopœmen, preventing his blow, with a push of his spear brought him dead to the ground. The enemy seeing Demophantus fall, immediately fled. And now Philopœmen was universally celebrated, as not inferior to the young in personal valour, nor to the old in prudence,

* διαννεις δε απειριανη μετα απολημνιας ποιητων εστιν.—The Latin translation, *Si t. ceterum singularis omnium cum ignaro inertia*, being a little obscure in this passage, though the Greek is very clear, the former English translator entirely omitted it. The passage, however, is of importance, and well deserves the consideration of every military man.

† This battle was fought the fourth year of the hundred and forty-second Olympiad, when Philopœmen was in his forty-fourth year.

and as equally well qualified both to fight and to command.

Aratus was, indeed, the first who raised the commonwealth of the Achæans to dignity and power. For, whereas before they were in a low condition, dispersed in unconnected cities, he united them in one body, and gave them a moderate civil government worthy of Greece. And as it happens in running waters, that when a few small bodies stop, others stick to them, and one part strengthening another, the whole becomes one firm and solid mass, so it was with Greece. At a time when she was weak and easily broken, dispersed as she was in a variety of cities, which stood each upon its own bottom, the Achæans first united themselves, and then drawing some of the neighbouring cities to them by assisting them to expel their tyrants, while others voluntarily joined them for the sake of that unanimity which they beheld in so well-constituted a government; they conceived the great design of forming Peloponnesus into one community. It is true, that while Aratus lived, they attended the motions of the Macedonians, and made their court first to Ptolemy, and afterwards to Antigonus and Philip, who all had a great share in the affairs of Greece. But when Philopœmen had taken upon him the administration, the Achæans finding themselves respectable enough to oppose their strongest adversaries, ceased to call in foreign protectors. As for Aratus, not being so fit for conflicts in the field, he managed most of his affairs by address, by moderation, and by the friendships he had formed with foreign princes, as we have related in his life. But Philopœmen, being a great warrior, vigorous and bold, and successful withal in the first battles that he fought, raised the ambition of the Achæans together with their power; for under him they were used to conquer.

In the first place he corrected the errors of the Achæans in drawing up their forces and in the make of their arms. For hitherto they had made use of bucklers which were easy to manage on account of their smallness, but too narrow to cover the body, and lances that were much shorter than the Macedonian pikes; for which reason they answered the end in fighting at a distance, but were of little use in close battle. As for the order of battle, they

had not been accustomed to draw up in a *spiral* form*, but in the square battalion, which having neither a front of pikes, nor shields, fit to lock together, like that of the Macedonians, was easily penetrated and broken. Philopœmen altered both; persuading them, instead of the buckler and lance, to take the shield and pike; to arm their heads, bodies, thighs, and legs, and, instead of a light and desultory manner of fighting, to adopt a close and firm one. After he had brought the youth to wear complete armour, and on that account to consider themselves as invincible, his next step was to reform them with respect to luxury and love of expence. He could not, indeed, entirely cure them of the distemper with which they had long been infected, the vanity of appearance, for they had vied with each other in fine clothes, in purple carpets, and in the rich service of their tables. But he began with diverting their love of show, from superfluous things, to those that were useful and honourable, and soon prevailed with them to retrench their daily expence upon their persons, and to give into a magnificence in their arms and the whole equipage of war. The shops therefore were seen strewed with plate broken in pieces, while breast-plates were gilt with the gold, and shields and bridle-bellies studded with the silver. On the parade the young men were managing horses, or exercising their arms. The women were seen adorning helmets and crests with various colours, or embroidering military veils both for the cavalry and infantry. The very sight of these things inflaming their courage, and calling forth their vigour, made them venturesome and ready to face any danger. For much expence in other things that attract our eyes tempts to luxury, and too often produces effeminacy; the feasting of the senses relaxing the vigour of the mind; but in this

* The Macedonian phalanx occasionally altered their form from the square to the *spiral* or orbicular, and sometimes to that of the *curvæ* or wedge.

The *σπειρα* might also be translated *to draw up in platoons*, the word *σπειρα* derived from *σπειρω*, signifying a *bend* or *platoon*. But then in the original it would rather have been *σπειρας* than *σπειρα*: besides, the context seems to determine it to the former signification. It was necessary for the phalanx to throw themselves into the *spiral* or orbicular form, whenever they were surrounded, in order that they might face and fight the enemy on every side.

instance its strengthens and improves it. Thus Homer represents Achilles, at the sight of his new armour, exulting with joy *, and burning with impatience to use it. When Philopœmen had persuaded the youth thus to arm and to adorn themselves, he mustered and trained them continually, and they entered with pride and pleasure into his exercise. For they were greatly delighted with the new form of the battalion, which was so cemented that it seemed impossible to break it. And their arms became easy and light in the wearing, because they were charmed with their richness and beauty, and they longed for nothing more than to use them against the enemy, and to try them in a real encounter.

At that time the Achæans were at war with Machanidas the tyrant of Lacedæmon, who, with a powerful army, was watching his opportunity to subdue all Peloponnesus. As soon as news was brought that he was fallen upon the Mantineans, Philopœmen took the field, and marched against him. They drew up their armies near Mantinea, each having a good number of mercenaries in pay, beside the whole force of their respective cities. The engagement being begun, Machanidas with his foreign troops attacked and put to flight the spearmen and the Tarentines, who were placed in the Achæan front; but afterwards, instead of falling upon that part of the army who stood their ground, and breaking them, he went upon the pursuit of the fugitives †; and when he should have endeavoured to rout the main body of the Achæans, left his own uncovered. Philopœmen, after so indifferent a beginning, made light of the misfortune, and represented it as no great matter; though the day seemed to be lost. But when he saw what an error the enemy committed, in quitting their foot, and going upon the pursuit, by which they left him a good opening, he did not try to stop them

* She drops the radiant bürd'n on the ground;
 Clang the strong arms, and ring the shires around,
 Back shrunk the Myrmidons with dread surprise,
 And from the broad effulgence turn their eyes.
 Unmov'd, the hero kindles at the show,
 And feels with rage divine his botom glow;
 From his fierce eyeballs liv'g flames expire,
 And flash incisive like a stream of fire. *Pope, Il. 39.*

† See Polybius, book xi.

in their career after the fugitives, but suffered them to pass by. When the pursuers were got at a great distance, he rushed upon the Lacedæmonian infantry, now left unsupported by their right wing. Stretching, therefore, to the left, he took them in flank, destitute as they were of a general, and far from expecting to come to blows; for they thought Machanidas absolutely sure of victory, when they saw him upon the pursuit.

After he had routed this infantry with great slaughter (for it is said that four thousand Lacedæmonians were left dead upon the spot), he marched against Machanidas, who was now returning, with his mercenaries from the pursuit. There was a broad and deep ditch between them, where both strove awhile, the one to get over and fly, the other to hinder him. Their appearance was not like that of a combat between two generals, but between two wild beasts (or rather between a hunter and a wild beast), whom necessity reduces to fight. Philopœmen was the great hunter. The tyrant's horse being strong and spirited, and violently spurred on both sides, ventured to leap into the ditch; and was raising his fore feet in order to gain the opposite bank, when Simmias and Polyenus, who always fought by the side of Philopœmen, both rode up and levelled their spears against Machanidas. But Philopœmen prevented them; and perceiving that the horse, with his head high reared, covered the tyrant's body, he turned his own a little, and pushing his spear at him with all his force, tumbled him into the ditch. The Achæans, in admiration of this exploit and of his conduct in the whole action, set up his statue in brafs at Delphi, in the attitude in which he killed the tyrant.

It is reported, that at the Nemean games, a little after he had gained the battle of Mantinea, Philopœmen then chosen general the second time, and at leisure on account of that great festival, first caused this phalanx, in the best order and attire, to pass in review before the Greeks, and to make all the movements which the art of war teaches, with the utmost vigour and agility. After this, he entered the theatre, while the musicians were contending for the prize. He was attended by the youth in their military cloaks and scarlet veils. These young men were all well made, of the same age and stature, and though

they showed great respect for their general, yet they seemed not a little elated themselves with the many glorious battles they had fought. In the moment that they entered, Pylades the musician happened to be singing to his lyre the *Perse* of Timotheus*, and was pronouncing this verse with which it begins,

The palm of liberty for Greece I won,

when the people struck with the grandeur of the poetry, sung by a voice equally excellent, from every part of the theatre turned their eyes upon Philopœmen, and welcomed him with the loudest plaudits. They caught in idea the ancient dignity of Greece, and in their present confidence aspired to the lofty spirit of former times.

As young horses require their accustomed riders, and are wild and unruly when mounted by strangers, so it was with the Achæans. When their forces were under any other commander, on every great emergency, they grew discontented, and looked about for Philopœmen; and if he did but make his appearance, they were soon satisfied again and fitted for action by the confidence which they placed in him; well knowing that he was the only general whom their enemies durst not look in the face, and that they were ready to tremble at his very name.

Philip, king of Macedon, thinking he could easily bring the Achæans under him again, if Philopœmen was out of the way, privately sent some persons to Argos to assassinate him. But this treachery was timely discovered, and brought upon Philip the hatred and contempt of all the Greeks. The Boeotians were besieging Megara, and hoped to be soon masters of the place, when a report, though not a true one, being spread among them, that Philopœmen was approaching to the relief of the besieged, they left their scaling-ladders already planted against the walls, and took to flight. Nabis, who was tyrant of Lacedæmon after Machanidas had taken Messene by surprise. And Philopœmen, who was out of command, endeavoured to persuade Lysippus, then general of the Achæans, to succour the Messeneans: but

* Timotheus was a Dithyrambic poet, who flourished about the ninety-fifth Olympiad, three hundred and ninety-eight years before the Christian era.

not prevailing with him, because, he said, the enemy was within, and the place irrecoverably lost, he went himself, taking with him his own citizens, who waited neither for form of law nor commission, but followed him upon this natural principle, that he who excels should always command. When he was got pretty near, Nabis was informed of it; and not daring to wait, though his army lay quartered in the town, stole out at another gate with his troops, and marched off precipitately, thinking himself happy if he could escape. He did indeed escape, but Messene was rescued.

Thus far every thing is great in the character of Philopœmen. But as for his going a second time into Crete, at the request of the Gortynians, who were engaged in war, and wanted him for general, it has been blamed, either as an act of cowardice, in deserting his own country when she was distressed by Nabis, or as an unseafonable ambition to show himself to strangers. And it is true, the Megalopolitans were then so hard pressed, that they were obliged to shut themselves up within their walls, and to sow corn in their very streets; the enemy having laid waste their lands, and encamped almost at their gates, Philopœmen, therefore, by entering into the service of the Cretans at such a time, and taking a command beyond sea, furnished his enemies with a pretence to accuse him of basely flying from the war at home.

Yet it is said, that as the Achæans had chosen other generals, Philopœmen, being unemployed, bestowed his leisure upon the Gortynians, and took a command among them at their request. For he had an extreme aversion to idleness, and was desirous, above all things, to keep his talents, as a soldier and general, in constant practice. This was clear from what he said of Ptolemy. Some were commanding that prince for daily studying the art of war, and improving his strength by martial exercise: "Who," said he, "can praise a prince of his age, that is always "preparing, and never performs?"

The Megalopolitans, highly incensed at his absence, and looking upon it as a desertion, were inclined to pass an outlawry against him. But the Achæans prevented them by sending their general *Aristænetus to Megalo-

* Polybius and Livy call him Aristænus.

polis, who, though he differed with Philopœmen about matters of goverment, would not suffer him to be declared an outlaw. Philopœmen, finding himself neglected by his citizens, drew off from them several of the neighbouring boroughs, and instructed them to allege that they were not comprised in their taxations, nor originally of their dependencies. By afflicting them to maintain this pretext, he lessened the authority of Megalopolis in the general assembly of the Achæans. But these things happened some time after.

Whilst he commanded the Gortynians in Crete, he did not, like a Peloponnesian or Arcadian, make war in an open generous manner, but adopting the Cretan customs and using their artifices and sleights, their stratagems and ambushes, against themselves, he soon shewed that their devices were like the short-sighted schemes of children, when compared with the long reach of an experienced general.

Having greatly distinguished himself by these means, and performed many exploits in that country, he returned to Peloponnesus with honour. Here he found Philip beaten by T. Q. Flaminius, and Nabis engaged in war both with the Romans and Achæans. He was immediately chosen general of the Achæans; but venturing to act at sea, he fell under the same misfortune with Epaminondas; he saw the great ideas that had been formed of his courage and conduct, vanish in consequence of his ill success in a naval engagement. Some say, indeed, that Epaminondas was unwilling that his countrymen should have any share of the advantages of the sea, left of good soldiers (as Plato expresses it *) they should become licentious and dissolute sailors; and therefore chose to return from Asia and the isles without effecting any thing. But Philopœmen being persuaded that his skill in the land service would ensure his success at sea, found to his cost how much experience contributes to victory, and how much practice adds in all things to our powers. For he was not only worsted in the sea-fight for want of skill; but having fitted up an old ship which had been a famous vessel

* This observation occurs in Plato's fourth book *De Legibus*; and from this passage of Plutarch, it appears, that there instead of *νοητων*, we should read *μονητων*. The ancient Greek ν is not properly expressed. Indeed, there are no types for it.

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forty years before, and manned it with his townsmen, it proved so leaky that they were in danger of being lost. Finding that, after this, the enemy despised him as a man who disclaimed all pretensions at sea, and that they had insolently laid siege to Gythium, he set sail again; and as they did not expect him, but were dispersed without any precaution, by reason of their late victory, he landed in the night, burnt their camp, and killed a great number of them.

A few days after, as he was marching through a difficult pass, Nabis came suddenly upon him. The Achæans were in great terror, thinking it impossible to escape out of so dangerous a passage, which the enemy had already seized. But Philopœmen, making a little halt, and seeing, at once, the nature of the ground, shewed, that skill in drawing up an army is the capital point in the art of war. For altering a little the disposition of his forces, and adapting it to the present occasion, without any bustle he easily disengaged them from the difficulty; and then falling upon the enemy, put them entirely to the rout.—When he saw that they fled not to the town, but dispersed themselves about the country; as the ground was woody and uneven, and on account of the brooks and ditches impracticable for the horse, he did not go upon the pursuit, but encamped before the evening. Concluding, however, that the fugitives would return as soon as it grew dark, and draw up in a straggling manner to the city, he placed in ambush by the brooks and hills that surrounded it many parties of the Achæans with their swords in their hands. By this means the greatest part of the troops of Nabis were cut off: For not returning in a body, but as the chance of flight had dispersed them, they fell into their enemy's hands, and were caught like so many birds, ere they could enter the town.

Philopœmen being received on this account with great honour and applause in all the theatres of Greece, it gave some umbrage to Flaminus, a man naturally ambitious. For, as a Roman consul, he thought himself entitled to much greater marks of distinction among the Achæans than a man of Arcadia, and that, as a public benefactor, he was infinitely above him; having by one proclamation set free all that part of Greece, which had been enslaved

by Philip and the Macedonians*. After this, Flaminius made peace with Nabis; and Nabis was assassinated by the Aetolians. Hereupon Sparta being in great confusion, Philopœmen seizing the opportunity, came upon it with his army, and, partly by force, partly by persuasion, brought that city to join in the Achean league.—The gaining over a city of such dignity and power made him perfectly adored among the Acheans. And, indeed, Sparta was an acquisition of vast importance to Achaia, of which she was now become a member. It was also a grateful service to the principal Lacedæmonians, who hoped now to have him for the guardian of their liberty. For which reason, having sold the house and goods of Nabis, by a public decree, they gave the money, which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents, to Philopœmen, and determined to send it by persons deputed from their body.

On this occasion it appeared how clear his integrity was; that he not only seemed, but *was* a virtuous man. For not one of the Spartans chose to speak to a person of his character about a present; but afraid of the office, they all excused themselves, and put it upon Timolaus, to whom he was bound by the rights of hospitality. Timolaus went to Megalopolis, and was entertained at Philopœmen's house; but when he observed the gravity of his discourse, the simplicity of his diet, and the integrity of manners, quite impregnable to the attacks and deceits of money, he said not a word about the present, but having assigned another cause for his coming, returned home. He was sent a second time, but could not mention the money. In a third visit he brought it out with much difficulty, and declared the benevolence of Sparta to him. Philopœmen heard with pleasure what he had to say, but immediately went himself to the people of Lacedæmon, and advised them not to try to tempt good men with money, who were already their friends, and of whose virtues they might freely avail themselves; but to buy and corrupt ill men, who opposed their measures in council, that, thus silenced, they might give them the less trouble; it being much better to stop the mouths of

* Dacier reads *Lacedæmonians*, but does not mention his authority.

their enemies, than of their friends. Such was Philipæ. men's contempt of money.

Some time after, Diophanes, being general of the Achæans, and hearing that the Lacedæmonians had thoughts of withdrawing from the league, determined to chastise them*. Meanwhile, they prepared for war, and raised great commotions in Peloponnesus. Philopœmen tried to appease Diophanes and keep him quiet; representing to him, "That while Antiochus and the Romans were contending in the heart of Greece with two such powerful armies, an Achæan general should turn his attention to them; and, instead of lighting up a war at home, should overlook and pass by some real injuries." When he found that Diophanes did not hearken to him, but marched along with Flaminius into Laconia, and that they took their rout towards Sparta, he did a thing which cannot be vindicated by law and strict justice, but which discovers a great and noble daring. He got into the town himself, and though but a private man, shut the gates against an Achæan general and a Roman consul; healed the divisions among the Lacedæmonians, and brought them back to the league.

Yet, afterwards, when he was general himself, upon some new subject of complaint against that people, he restored their exiles, and put eighty citizens to death, as Polybius tells us, or, according to Aristocrates, three hundred and fifty. He demolished their walls, took from them great part of their territory, and added it to that of Megalopolis. All who had been made free of Sparta by the tyrants he disfranchised, and carried into Achaia; except three thousand who refused to quit the place, and those he sold for slaves. By way of insult, as it were, upon Sparta, with the money arising thence he built a portico in Megalopolis. Pursuing his vengeance against that unhappy people who had already suffered more than they deserved, he added one cruel and most unjust thing to fill up the measure of it; he destroyed their constitution. He abolished the discipline of Lycurgus, compelled them to give their children and youth an Achæan education, instead of that of their own country, being per-

* The same year, Caius Livius with the Roman fleet defeated that of Antiochus, near Ephesus.

suaded that their spirit could never be humbled, while they adhered to the institutions of their great lawgiver. Thus brought by the weight of their calamities, to have the sinews of their city cut by Philopœmen, they grew tame and submissive. Some time after, indeed, upon application to the Romans, they shook off the Achæan customs, and re-established their ancient ones, as far as it could be done, after so much misery and corruption.

When the Romans were carrying on the war with Antiochus in Greece, Philopœmen was in a private station. And when he saw Antiochus sit still at Chalcia, and spend his time in youthful love and a marriage unsuitable to his years, while the Syrians roamed from town to town without discipline and without officers, and minded nothing but their pleasures, he repined extremely that he was not then general of the Achæans, and scrupled not to declare, that he envied the Romans their victory; “ For had I been “ in command,” said he, “ I would have cut them all in “ pieces in the taverns.” After Antiochus was overcome, the Romans pressed still harder upon Greece, and hemmed in the Achæans with their power; the orators too inclined to their interest. Under the auspices of Heaven, their strength prevailed over all; and the point was at hand, where fortune, who had long veered, was to stand still. In these circumstances, Philopœmen, like a good pilot, struggled with the waves. Sometimes he was forced to give way a little and yield to the times, but on most occasions maintaining the conflict, he endeavoured to draw all that were considerable either for their eloquence or riches, to the side of liberty. Aristænetus the Megalopolitan, who had great interest among the Achæans, but always courted the Romans, declared it in council as his opinion, “ That they ought not to be opposed “ or disengaged in any thing.” Philopœmen heard him with silent indignation; and, at last, when he could restrain no longer, said to him, “ And wot in such haste, “ wretched man, to see an end of Greece?” Manius*, the Roman consul, after the defeat of Antiochus, moved the Achæans to permit the Laedæmonian exiles to return, and Titus seconded him in his application; but Philopœmen opposed it, not out of any ill-will to the exiles,

* Manius Acilius Glabris.

but because he was willing they should be indebted for that benefit to himself and the Achæans, and not to the favour of Titus and the Romans. For the next year, when he was general himself, he restored them. Thus his gallant spirit led him to contend with the prevailing powers.

He was elected general of the Achæans, the eighth time, when seventy years of age; and now he hoped not only to pass the year of his magistracy without war, but the remainder of his life in quiet. For as the force of distempers abates with the strength of the body, so in the states of Greece the spirit of contention failed with their power. Some avenging deity, however, threw him down at last, like one who, with matchless speed, runs over the race, and stumbles at the goal. It seems, that being in company where a certain general was mentioned as an extraordinary man, Philopœmen said, “ There was “ no great account to be made of a man who suffered “ himself to be taken alive.” A few days after this, Dinocrates the Messenian, who was particularly on ill terms with Philopœmen, and, indeed, not upon good ones with any one, by reason of his profligate and wicked life, found means to draw Messene off from the league; and it was also said that he was going to seize a little place called *Colonis**. Philopœmen was then at Argos, sick of a fever; but upon this news he pushed to Megalopolis, and reached it in one day, though it was at the distance of four hundred furlongs. From thence he presently drew out a body of horse, consisting of the nobility, but all young men, who from affection to his person and ambition for glory, followed him as volunteers. With these he marched towards Messene, and meeting Dinocrates on *Evander's hill*†, he attacked and put him to flight. But five hundred men, who guarded the flat country, suddenly coming up, the others, who were routed, seeing them, rallied again about the hills. Hereupon, Philopœmen, afraid of being surrounded, and desirous of saving his young cavalry, retreated upon rough and difficult

* There is no such place known as *Colonis*. Livy (lib. 39.) calls it *Corone*; and Plutarch probably wrote *Corona*, or *Coronis*. Strabo mentions the latter as a place in the neighbourhood of Messene.

† *Evander's hill* is likewise unknown. Polybius, and after him Pausanias, mentions a hill called *Evan* (which name it probably had from the cries of the Bacchanals) not far from Messene.

ground, while he was in the rear, often turning upon the enemy, and endeavouring to draw them entirely upon himself. Yet none of them dared to encounter him; they only shouted and rode about him at a distance. As he often faced about, and left his main body, on account of his young men, each of whom he was solicitous to put out of danger, at last he found himself alone amidst a number of the enemy. Even then they durst not attack him hand to hand, but, hurling their darts at a distance, they drove him upon steep and craggy places, where he could scarcely make his horse go, though he spurred him continually. He was still active through exercise, and for that reason his age was no hinderance to his escape; but being weakened by sickness, and extremely fatigued with his journey, his horse threw him, now heavy and encumbered, upon the stones. His head was wounded with the fall, and he lay a long time speechless, so that the enemy, thinking him dead, began to turn him, in order to strip him of his arms. But finding that he raised his head and opened his eyes, they gathered thick about him, bound his hands behind his back, and led him off with such unworthy treatment and gross abuse, as Philopœmen could never have supposed he should come to suffer even from Dinoocrates.

The Messenians, elated at the news, flocked to the gates. But when they saw Philopœmen dragged along in a manner so unworthy of the glory of his achievements and trophies, most of them were touched with pity and compassion for his misfortune. They shed tears, and contemned all human greatness as a faithless support, as vanity and nothing. Their tears by little and little, turned to kind words, and they began to say, they ought to remember his former benefits, and the liberty he had procured them by expelling the tyrant Nabis. A few there were indeed, who to gratify Dinoocrates, talked of putting Philopœmen to torture and to death, as a dangerous and implacable enemy, and the more to be dreaded by Dinoocrates, if he escaped after being made prisoner, and treated with such indignity. At last they put him in a dungeon called the *Treasury**, which had neither air nor light from without, and which having no

* The public treasure was kept there; and it was shut up with an immense stone, moved to it by an engine. *Liv. l. xxxix.*

doors was closed with a great stone. In this dungeon they shut him up with the stone, and placed a guard around it.

Meanwhile, the Achæan cavalry recollecting themselves after their flight, found that Philopœmen was not with them, and probably had lost his life. They made a stand, and called him with loud cries, blaming each other for making a base and shameful escape, by abandoning their general, who had been prodigal of his own life in order to save theirs. By much search and inquiry about the country, they got intelligence that he was taken prisoner, and carried the heavy news to the states of Achaia; who, considering it as the greatest of losses, resolved to send an embassy to demand him of the Messenians; and in the mean time prepared for war.

While the Achæans were taking these resolutions, Dinocrates, who most of all dreaded time, as the thing most likely to save Philopœmen, determined to be beforehand with the league. Therefore, when night was come and the multitude retired, he opened the dungeon, and sent in one of his servants with a dose of poison, and orders not to leave him till he had taken it. Philopœmen was laid down in his cloak, but not asleep: Vexation and resentment kept him awake. When he saw the light, and the man standing by him with a cup of poison, he raised himself up, as well as his weakness would permit, and, receiving the cup, asked him, “Whether he had heard any thing of his cavalry, and particularly of Lycortas?” The executioner answering that they almost all escaped, he nodded his head in sign of satisfaction; and looking kindly upon him, said, “Thou bringest good tidings, and we are not in all respects unhappy.” Without uttering another word, or breathing the least sigh, he drank off the poison and laid down again. He was already brought so low that he could not make much struggle with the fatal dose, and it despatched him presently.

The news of his death filled all Achaia with grief and lamentation. All the youth immediately repaired with the deputies of the several cities to Megalopolis, where they resolved without loss of time, to take their revenge. For this purpose, having chosen Lycortas* for their ge-

* This was in the second year of the hundred and forty-ninth Olympiad. Lycortas was father to Polybius the historian, who was in the action, and might be then about twenty years of age.

veral, they entered Messene, and ravaged the country, till the Messenians with one consent opened their gates and received them. Diocrates prevented their revenge by killing himself: and those who voted for having Philopœmen put to death, followed his example*. But such as were for having him put to the torture, were taken by Lycortas, and reserved for more painful punishments.

When they had burnt his remains, they put the ashes in an urn, and returned not in a disorderly and promiscuous manner, but uniting a kind of triumphal march with the funeral solemnity. First came the foot with crowns of victory on their heads, and tears in their eyes; and attended by their captive enemies in fetters. Polybius, the general's son, with the principal Achæans about him, carried the urn, which was so adorned with ribbons and garlands that it was hardly visible. The march was closed by the cavalry completely armed and superbly mounted; they neither expressed in their looks the melancholy of such a mourning nor the joy of a victory. The people of the towns and villages on the way, flocked out, as if it had been to meet him returning from a glorious campaign, touched the urn with great respect, and conducted it to Megalopolis. The old men, the women, and children, who joined the procession, raised such a bitter lamentation, that it spread through the army, and was re-echoed by the city, which, besides her grief for Philopœmen, bemoaned her own calamity, as in him she thought she lost the chief rank and influence among the Achæans.

His interment was suitable to his dignity, and the Messenian prisoners were stoned to death at his tomb.—Many statues were set up†, and many honours decreed him by the Grecian cities. But when Greece was involved in the dreadful misfortunes of Corinth, a certain Roman attempted to get them all pulled down ‡, accusing

* *τεττες επ' ἀνίκασις τοκυσεσογ συνταπελενεν δ Λυκορτας.* He intended to have them beaten with rods before they were put to death.

† Pausanias, in his Arcadic, gives us the inscription the Tegeans put upon one of those statues.

‡ This happened thirty-seven years after his death, that is, the second year of the hundred and forty-eighth Olympiad, one hundred and forty-five years before the Christian era.

him in form as if he had been alive, of implacable enmity to the Romans. When he had finished the impeachment, and Polybius had answered his calumnies, neither Manlius nor his lieutenants would suffer the monuments of so illustrious a man to be defaced, though he had opposed both Flaminius and Glabrio not a little. For they made a proper distinction between virtue and interest, between honour and advantage; well concluding, that rewards and grateful acknowledgments are always due from persons obliged to their benefactors, and honour and respect from men of merit to each other. So much concerning Philopœmen.

TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS.

THE person whom we put in parallel with Philopœmen, is Titus Quinctius Flaminius*. Those who are desirous of being acquainted with his countenance and figure, need but look upon the statue in brass, which is erected at Rome, with a Greek inscription upon it, opposite the *Circus Maximus*, near the great statue of Apollo, which was brought from Carthage. As to his disposition, he was quick both to resent an injury, and to do a service. But his resentment was not in all respects like his affection, for he punished lightly, and soon forgot the offence; but his attachments and services were lasting and complete. For the persons whom he had obliged he ever retained a kind regard; as if, instead of receiving, they had conferred a favour; and considering them as his greatest treasure, he was always ready to protect and to promote them. Naturally covetous of honour and fame, and not choosing to let others have any share in his great

* It ought to be written *Flamininus*, and not *Flaminius*. Polybius, Livy, and all the other historians write it *Flamininus*. Indeed, the Flaminii were a very different family from the Flamininii. The former were patricians, the latter plebeians. Caius Flaminius, who was killed in the battle at the lake of Thrasymenus, was of the plebeian family. Besides some manuscripts, for instance the *Vulgate*, and *Annon*, and one that Dacier consulted, have it *Flamininus*: which would be sufficient authority to correct it. But that would occasion some inconvenience, because Plutarch has called him *Flaminius* in other places, as well as here in his life; and, indeed, several modern writers have done the same.

and good actions, he took more pleasure in those whom he could assist, than in those who could give him assistance; looking upon the former as persons who afforded room for the exertion of virtue, and the latter as his rivals in glory.

From his youth he was trained up to the profession of arms. For Rome having then many important wars upon her hands, her youth betook themselves by times to arms, and had early opportunities to qualify themselves to command. Flaminus served like the rest, and was but a legionary tribune under the consul Marcellus*, in the war with Hannibal. Marcellus fell into an ambuscade and was slain; after which Flaminus was appointed governor of Tarentum, newly retaken, and of the country about it. In this commission he grew no less famous for his administration of justice than for his military skill for which reason he was appointed chief director of the two colonies that were sent to the cities of Narnia and Cossa.

This inspired him with such lofty thoughts, that, overlooking the ordinary previous steps by which young men ascend, I mean the offices of tribune, pretor, and aedile, he aimed directly at the consulship. Supported by those colonists, he presented himself as a candidate. But the tribunes Fulvius and Manlius opposed him, insisting that it was a strange and unheard-of thing, for a man so young, who was not yet initiated in the first mysteries of government, to intrude, in contempt of the laws, into the highest office in the state. The senate referred the affair to the suffrages of the people; and the people elected him consul, though he was not yet thirty years old, with Sextus Elias. The lots being cast for the provinces, the war with Philip and the Macedonians fell to Flaminus; and this happened very fortunately for the Roman people; as that department required a general who did not want to do every thing by force and violence, but rather by gentleness and persuasion. For Macedonia furnished Philip with a sufficient number of men for his wars, but Greece was

* He was appointed a tribune at the age of twenty, in the fourth year of the hundred and forty-second Olympiad. Consequently he was born in the first year of the hundred and thirty-eighth Olympiad, which was the year of Rome 526. Livy tells us, he was thirty-three years of age, when he proclaimed liberty to Greece.

his principal dependence for a war of any length. Still it was that supplied him with money and provisions, with strong holds and places of retreat, and, in a word, with all the materials of war. So that if she could not be disengaged from Philip, the war with him could not be decided by a single battle. Besides, the Greeks as yet had but little acquaintance with the Romans; it was now first to be established by the intercourse of business: and therefore, they wou'd not so soon have embraced a foreign authority, instead of that they had been accustomed to, if the Roman general had not been a man of great good nature, who was more ready to avail himself of treaty than of the sword, who had a persuasive manner where he applied, and was affable and easy of access when applied to, and who had a constant and invariable regard to justice. But this will better appear from his actions themselves.

Titus finding that Sulpitius and Publius*, his predecessors in command, had not entered Macedonia till late in the season, and then did not prosecute the war with vigour, but spent their time in skirmishing to gain some particular post or pass, or to intercept some provisions, determined not to act like them. They had wasted the year of their consulate in the enjoyment of their new honours and in the administration of domestic affairs, and towards the close of the year they repaired to their province; by which artifice they got their command continued another year, being the first year in character of consul, and the second of proconsul. But Titus, ambitious to distinguish his consulship by some important expedition, left the honours and prerogatives he had in Rome; and having requested the senate to permit his brother Lucius to command the naval forces, and selected three thousand men, as yet in full vigour and spirits, and the glory of the field†, from those troops, who, under Scipio had subdued Asdrubal in Spain, and Hannibal in Africa, he crossed the sea, and got safe into Epirus. There he found Publius encamped over against Philip, who had been a long

* Publius Sulpitius Galba was consul two years before. Publius Villius Tappulus was consul the year after Sulpitius, and next before Flaminius.

† *on the orophaea—on the edge of the wthren.*

time defending the fords of the river Apsus and the adjoining straits; and that Publius had not been able to effect any thing, by reason of the natural strength of the place.

Titus having taken the command of the army, and sent Publius home, set himself to consider the nature of the country. Its natural fortifications are equal to those of Tempe, but it is not like Tempe in the beauty of the woods and groves, and the verdure of valleys and delicious meads. To the right and left there is a chain of lofty mountains, between which there is a deep and long channel. Down this runs the river Apsus, like the Peneus, both in its appearance and rapidity. It covers the foot of the hills on each side, so that there is left only a narrow craggy path, cut out close by the stream, which is not easy for an army to pass at any time, and, when guarded, is not passable at all.

There were some, therefore, who advised Flaminus to take a compass through Dassaretis along the Lycus, which was an easy passage. But he was afraid that if he removed too far from the sea, into a country that was barren and little cultivated, while Philip avoided a battle he might come to want provisions, and be constrained, like the general before him, to retreat to the sea, without effecting any thing. This determined him to make his way up the mountains sword in hand, and to force a passage. But Philip's army being possessed of the heights, showered down their darts and arrows upon the Romans from every quarter. Several sharp contests ensued, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides, but none that were likely to be decisive.

In the mean time, some shepherds of those mountains came to the consul with the discovery of a winding-way, neglected by the enemy, by which they promised to bring his army to the top in three days at the farthest. And to confirm the truth of what they had said, they brought Charops the son of Machatas, prince of the Epirots; who was a friend to the Romans, and privately assisted them out of fear of Philip. As Flaminus could confide in him, he sent away a tribune with four thousand foot and three hundred horse. The shepherds in bonds led the way. In the day time they lay still in the hollows of the woods, and in the night they marched; for the moon was

was then at full. Flaminus having detached this party, let his main body rest the three days, and only had some slight skirmishes with the enemy to take up their attention. But the day that he expected those who had taken the circuit, to appear upon the heights, he drew out his forces early, both the heavy and light armed, and dividing them into three parts, himself led the van ; marching his men along the narrowest path by the side of the river. The Macedonians galled him with their darts ; but he maintained the combat notwithstanding the disadvantage of ground ; and the other two parties fought with all the spirit of emulation, and clung to the rocks with astonishing ardour.

In the mean time the sun arose, and a smoke appeared at a distance, not very strong, but like the mist of the hills. Being on the back of the enemy, they did not observe it, for it came from the troops who had reached the top. Amidst the fatigue of the engagement the Romans were in doubt whether it was a signal or not, but they inclined to believe it the thing they wished. And when they saw it increase, so as to darken the air, and to mount higher and higher, they were well assured that it came from the fires which their friends had lighted. Hereupon they set up loud shouts, and charging the enemy with greater vigour, pushed them into the most craggy places. The shouts were re-echoed by those behind at the top of the mountain. And now the Macedonians fled with the utmost precipitation. Yet there were not above two thousand slain, the pursuit being impeded by the difficulty of the ascent. The Romans, however, pillaged the camp, seized the money and slaves, and became absolute masters of the pass.

They then traversed all Epirus, but with such order and discipline, that, though they were at a great distance from their ships and the sea, and had not the usual monthly allowance of corn, or convenience of markets, yet they spared the country, which at the same time abounded in every thing. For Flaminus was informed that Philip, in his passage, or rather flight, through Thessaly, had compelled the people to quit their habitations and retire to the mountains, had burnt the towns, and had given as plunder to his men what was too heavy or cumbersome to be carried off ; and so had in a manner yielded

up the country to the Romans. The consul, therefore, made a point of it to prevail with his men to spare it as their own, to march through it as land already ceded to them.

The event soon showed the benefit of this good order. For as soon as they entered Thessaly, all its cities declared for them; and the Greeks within Thermopylæ longed for the protection of Flaminus, and gave up their hearts to him. The Achæans renounced their alliance with Philip, and by a solemn decree resolved to take part with the Romans against him. And though the Aetolians, who at that time were strongly attached to the Romans, made the Opuntians an offer to garrison and defend their city, they refused it; and having sent for Flaminus, put themselves in his hands.

It is reported of Pyrrhus, when from an eminence he had first a prospect of the disposition of the Roman army, that he said, “ I see nothing barbarian-like in the ranks of these barbarians.” Indeed, all who once saw Flaminus, spoke of him in the same terms. They had heard the Macedonians represent him as the fierce commander of a host of barbarians, who was come to rain and destroy, and to reduce all to slavery. And, when afterwards they met a young man of a mild aspect, who spoke very good Greek, and was a lover of true honour, they were extremely taken with him, and excited the kind regards of their cities to him, as to a general who would lead them to liberty.

After this, Philip seeming inclined to treat, Flaminus came to an interview with him*, and offered him peace and friendship with Rome, on condition that he left the Grecians free, and withdrew his garrisons from their cities. And as he refused those terms, it was obvious even to the partisans of Philip, that the Romans were not come to fight against the Greeks, but for Greece against the Macedonians.

The rest of Greece acceding voluntarily to the confederacy, the consul entered Bœotia, but in a peaceable manner, and the chief of the Thebans came to meet him. They were inclined to the Macedonian interest on account of Brachylas, but they honoured and respected

* See Polybius, Book xvii.

Flaminius, and were willing to preserve the friendship of both. Flaminius received them with great goodness, embraced them, and went on slowly with them, asking various questions, and entertaining them with discourse, on purpose to give his soldiers time to come up. Thus advancing insensibly to the gates of Thebes, he entered the city with them. They did not indeed quite relish the thing, but they were afraid to forbid him, as he came so well attended. Then, as if he had been noways master of the town, he endeavoured by persuasion to bring it to declare for the Romans; king Attalus seconding him, and using all his rhetoric to the Thebans. But that prince, it seems, in his eagerness to serve Flaminius, exerting himself more than his age could bear, was seized, as he was speaking, with a giddiness or rheum which made him swoon away. A few days after, his fleet conveyed him into Asia, and he died there. As for the Bœotians, they took part with the Romans.

As Philip sent an embassy to Rome, Flaminius also sent his agents to procure a decree of the senate prolonging his commission if the war continued, or else empowering him to make peace. For his ambition made him apprehensive, that if a successor were sent, he should be robbed of all the honour of the war. His friends managed matters so well for him, that Philip failed in his application, and the command was continued to Flaminius. Having received the decree, he was greatly elevated in his hopes, and marched immediately into Thessaly to carry on the war against Philip. His army consisted of more than twenty-six thousand men, of whom the Ætolians furnished six thousand foot and three hundred horse. Philip's forces were not inferior in number. They marched against each other, and arrived near Scotusa, where they proposed to decide the affair with the sword. The vicinity of two such armies had not the usual effect, to strike the officers with a mutual awe; on the contrary, it increased their courage and ardour; the Romans being ambitious to conquer the Macedonians, whose valour and power Alexander had rendered so famous, and the Macedonians hoping, if they could beat the Romans, whom they looked upon as a more respectable enemy than the Persians, to raise the glory of Philip above that of Alexander. Flaminius, therefore, exhorted his men to behave with the greatest courage and

gallantry, as they had to contend with brave adversaries in so glorious a theatre as Greece. On the other side, Philip, in order to address his army, ascended an eminence without his camp, which happened to be a burying-place, either not knowing it to be so, or in the hurry not attending to it. There he began an oration, such as is usual before a battle; but the omen of a sepulchre spreading a dismal melancholy among the troops, he stopped, and put off the action till another day.

Next morning at day-break, after a rainy night, the clouds turning into a mist, darkened the plain; and, as the day came on, a foggy thick air descending from the hills, covered all the ground between the two camps. Those, therefore, that were sent out on both sides, to seize posts or to make discoveries, soon meeting unawares, engaged at the *Cynocephala*, which are sharp tops of hills standing opposite each other, and so called from their resemblance to the heads of dogs. The success of these skirmishes was various by reason of the unevenness of the ground, the same parties sometimes flying and sometimes pursuing; and reinforcements were sent on both sides, as they found their men hard pressed and giving way; till at length, the day clearing up, the action became general. Philip, who was in the right wing, advanced from the rising ground with his whole phalanx against the Romans, who could not, even the bravest of them, stand the shock of the united shields and the projected spears*. But the Macedonian left wing being separated and intersected by the hills †, Flaminus observing that, and having no hopes on the side where his troops gave way, hastened to the other, and there charged the enemy, where, on account of the inequality and roughness of the country, they could not keep in the close form of a phalanx, nor line their ranks to any great depth, but were forced to fight man to man, in heavy and unwieldy armour. For the Macedonian phalanx is like an animal of enormous strength, while it keeps in one body, and

* The pike of the fifth man in file projected beyond the front. There was, therefore, an amazing strength in the phalanx, while it stood firm. But it had its inconveniences. It could not act at all except in a level and clear field. *Polyb.* lib. xvii. sub fin.

† Plutarch makes no mention of the elephants; which, according to Livy and Polybius, were very serviceable to Flaminus.

preserves its union of locked shields: but when that is broken, each particular soldier loses of his force, as well because of the form of his armour, as because the strength of each consists rather in his being a part of the whole, than in his single person. When these were routed, some gave chase to the fugitives; others took those Macedonians in flank who were still fighting, the slaughter was great, and the wing, lately victorious, soon broken in such a manner, that they threw down their arms and fled. There were no less than eight thousand slain, and about five thousand were taken prisoners. That Philip himself escaped, was chiefly owing to the Ætolians, who took to plundering the camp, while the Romans were buried in the pursuit, so that at their return there was nothing left for them.

This from the first occasioned quarrels and mutual reproaches. But afterwards Flaminus was hurt much more sensibly, when the Ætolians ascribed the victory to themselves*, and endeavoured to prepossess the Greeks that the fact was really so. This report got such ground, that the poets and others, in the verses that were composed and sung on this occasion, put them before the Romans. The verses most in vogue were the following:

Stranger! unwept, unhonour'd with a grave,
See thrice ten thousand bodies of the brave!
The fierce Ætolians, and the Latin power
Led by Flaminus, rul'd the vengeful hour;
Timathia's scourge beneath whose stroke they bled,
And swifter than the roe, the mighty Philip fled.

Alcæus wrote this epigram in ridicule of Philip, and purposely misrepresented the number of the slain. The epigram was indeed in every body's mouth, but Flaminus was much more hurt by it than Philip: for the latter parodied Alcæus, as follows:

Stranger: unleav'd, unhonour'd e'en with bark,
See this sad tree, the gibbet of Alcæus!

* Polybius informs us, that the Macedonians in the first encounter had the advantage, and beat the Romans from the tops of the mountains they had gained. And he affirms, that in all probability the Romans would have been put to flight, had they not been supported by the Ætolian cavalry.

Flaminus, who was ambitious of the praise of Greece, was not a little provoked at this; and therefore managed every thing afterwards by himself, paying very little regard to the Ætolians. They in their turn indulged their resentment; and, when Flaminus had admitted proposals for an accommodation, and received an embassy for that purpose from Philip, the Ætolians exclaimed in all the cities of Greece, that he told the peace to the Macedonian, at a time when he might have put a final period to the war, and have destroyed that empire which first enslaved the Grecians. These speeches, though groundless, greatly perplexed the allies; but Philip coming in person to treat, and submitting himself and his kingdom to the discretion of Flaminus and the Romans, removed all suspicion.

Thus Flaminus put an end to the war. He restored Philip his kingdom, but obliged him to quit all claim to Greece: He fined him a thousand talents; took away all his ships except ten; and sent Demetrius, one of his sons, hostage to Rome. In this pacification, he made a happy use of the present, and wisely provided for the time to come. For Hannibal the Carthaginian, an inveterate enemy to the Romans, and now an exile, being at the court of Antiochus *, exhorted him to meet fortune who opened her arms to him; and Antiochus himself seeing his power very considerable, and that his exploits had already gained him the title of the Great, began now to think of universal monarchy, and particularly of setting himself against the Romans. Had not Flaminus, therefore, in his great wisdom foreseen this, and made peace †, Antiochus might have joined Philip in the war, with Greece, and those two kings, then the most powerful in the world, have made a common cause of it; which would have called Rome again to as great conflicts and dangers, as she had experienced in the war with Hannibal.

* This is a mistake. Hannibal did not come to the court of Antiochus till the year after Flaminus had proclaimed liberty to Greece at the Isthmian games; a.o and Valerius Flaccus, who were then consuls, having sent an embassy to Carthage to complain of him.

† Polybius tells us, Flaminus was induced to conclude a peace upon the intelligence he had received, that Antiochus was marching towards Greece with a powerful army; and he was afraid Philip might lay hold on that advantage to continue the war.

But Flaminus, by thus putting an intermediate space of peace between the two wars, and finishing the one before the other began, cut off at once the last hope of Philip, and the first of Antiochus.

The ten commissioners now sent by the senate to assist Flaminus advised him to set the rest of Greece free, but to keep garrisons in the cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, to secure them in case of a war with Antiochus. But the Ætolians always severe in their accusations, and now more so than ever, endeavoured to excite a spirit of insurrection in the cities, calling upon Flaminus to knock off the shackles of Greece; for so Philip used to term those cities. They asked the Greeks, “ If they did not find their chain very comfortable, now it was more polished, though heavier than before; and if they did not consider Flaminus as the greatest of benefactors, for unfettering their feet, and binding them by the neck.” Flaminus, afflicted at these clamours, begged of the council of deputies, and at last prevailed with them, to deliver those cities from the garrisons, in order that his favour to the Grecians might be perfect and entire.

They were then celebrating the Isthmian games, and an innumerable company was feated to see the exercises. For Greece now enjoying full peace after a length of wars, and, big with the expectation of liberty, had given into these festivals on that occasion. Silence being commanded by sound of trumpet, an herald went forth and made proclamation, “ That The Roman senate, and Titus Quinctius Flaminus, the general and proconsul, having vanquished king Philip and the Macedonians, took off all impositions, and withdrew all garrisons from Greece, and restored liberty, and their own laws and privileges, to the Corinthians, Locrians, Phocians, Eubœans, Achæans, Phthistæ, Magnesians, Thessalians, and Perrhæbians.”

At first the proclamation was not generally or distinctly heard, but a confused murmur ran through the theatre; some wondering, some questioning, and others calling upon the herald to repeat what he had said. Silence being again commanded, the herald raised his voice, so as to be heard distinctly by the whole assembly. The shout which they gave in the transport of joy, was so pro-

igious, that it was heard as far as the sea. The people left their seats; there was no farther regard paid to the diversions; all hastened to embrace and to address the preserver and protector of Greece. The hyperbolical accounts that have often been given of the effect of loud shouts, were verified on that occasion. For the crows which then happened to be flying over their heads, fell into the theatre. The breaking of the air seems to have been the cause. For the sound of many united voices being violently strong, the parts of the air are separated by it, and a void is left, which affords the birds no support. Or perhaps the force of the sound strikes the birds like an arrow, and kills them in an instant. Or possibly a circular motion is caused in the air, as a whirlpool is produced in the sea by the agitations of a storm.

If Flaminus, as soon as he saw the assembly risen, and the crowd rushing towards him, had not avoided them, and got under covert, he must have been surrounded, and, in all probability, suffocated by such a multitude. When they had almost spent themselves in acclamations about his pavilion, and night was now come, they retired; and whatever friends or fellow-citizens they happened to see, they embraced and cared for again, and then went and concluded the evening together in feasting and merriment. There, no doubt, redoubling their joy, they began to recollect and talk of the state of Greece: they observed, "That notwithstanding the many great wars she had been "engaged in for liberty, she had never gained a more "secure or agreeable enjoyment of it, than now when "others had fought for her; that glorious and import- "tant prize now hardly costing them a drop of blood, or "a tear. That, of human excellencies, valour and pru- "dence were but rarely met with, but that justice was "still more uncommon. That such generals as Age- "laus, Lysander, Nicias, and Alcibiades, knew how to "manage a war, and to gain victories both by sea and "land; but they knew not how to apply their success to "generous and noble purposes. So that if one excepted "the battles of Marathon, of Salamis, Platea, and Ther- "mopylae, and the actions of Cimon upon the Euryme- "don, and near Cyprus, Greece had fought to no other "purpose but to bring the yoke upon herself, all the tro-

“ phies she had erected were monuments of her dishonour,
 “ and at last her affairs were ruined by the unjust ambi-
 “ tion of her chiefs. But these strangers, who had scarce
 “ a spark of any thing Grecian left *, who scarce retained
 “ a faint tradition of their ancient descent from us, from
 “ whom the least inclination, or even word in our behalf,
 “ could not have been expected; these strangers have run
 “ the greatest risks †, and submitted to the greatest labours,
 “ to deliver Greece from her cruel and tyrannic masters,
 “ and to crown her with liberty again.”

These were the reflections the Grecians made, and the actions of Flaminus justified them, being quite agreeable to his proclamation. For he immediately despatched Lentulus into Asia, to set the Bargyllians free, and Titilius ‡ into Thrace, to draw Philip's garrisons out of the towns and adjacent islands. Publius Villius set sail in order to treat with Antiochus about the freedom of the Grecians under him. And Flaminus himself went to Chaleis, and sailed from thence to Magnesia, where he removed the garrison, and put the government again in the hands of the people.

At Argos, being appointed director of the Nemean games, he settled the whole order of them in the most agreeable manner, and on that occasion caused liberty to be proclaimed again by the crier. And as he passed through the other cities, he strongly recommended to them an adherence to law, a strict course of justice, and domestic peace and unanimity. He healed their divisions; he restored their exiles. In short, he took not more pleasure in the conquest of the Macedonians, than in reconciling the Greeks to each other; and their liberty now

* According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Rome was stocked with inhabitants at first, chiefly from those Grecian colonies which had settled in the south of Italy before the time of Romulus.

† The former translator has entirely mistaken the sense of this passage. The Greek runs thus:—*ὅτι τοις μεγαλοῖς κινδύνοις καὶ πόνοις προσλόγειος την Ἑλλάδα δεσπότων χαλεπῶν καὶ τογινῶν ελευθερεστίν.* His translation runs thus.—*has retrieved Greece from her savage oppressors, and deepest extremities, has rescued her out of the hands of infesting tyrants, and reinstated her in her former liberties.* It is plain he was led into this mistake by misunderstanding the Latin, beyond which language he had no ambition to go. *Hi in nimis periculis et laborib. et Graeciam gravibus solverunt dominis et tyrannis, atque in liberatem restituerunt.*

‡ Polybius and Livy call him Lucius Stertinius.

appeared the least of the benefits he had conferred upon them.

It is said, that when Lycurgus the orator had delivered Xenocrates, the philosopher out of the hands of the tax-gatherers who were hurrying him to prison for the tax paid by strangers, and had prosecuted them for their infidelity; Xenocrates afterwards meeting the children of Lycurgus, said to them, “ Children, I have made a noble return to your father for the service he did me; for all the world praise him for it.” But the returns which attended Flamininus and the Romans, for their beneficence to the Greeks, terminated not in praizes only, but fully procured them the confidence of all mankind, and added greatly to their power. For now a variety of people not only accepted the governors set over them by Rome, but even sent for them, and begged to be under their government. And not only cities and commonwealths, but kings, when injured by other kings, had recourse to their protection. So that, the divine assistance too perhaps co-operating, in a short time the whole world became subject to them. Flamininus also valued himself most upon the liberty he had bestowed on Greece. For having dedicated some silver bucklers together with his own shield, at Delphi, he put upon them the following inscription :

Ye Spartan twins, who tamed the foaming steed,
Ye friends, ye patrons of each glorious deed,
Behold Flamininus, of Æneas’ line,
Presents this offering at your awful shrine.
Ye sons of love, your generous paths he trod,
And snatched from Greece each little tyrant’s rod.

He offered also to Apollo a golden crown, with these verses inscribed on it :

See grateful Titus homage pay
To thee, the glorious god of day;
See him with gold thy locks adorn,
Thy locks which shed th’ ambrosial morn.
O grant him fame and every gift divine,
Who led the warriors of Æneas’ line.

The Grecians have had the noble gift of liberty twice conferred upon them in the city of Corinth: by Flamininus then, and by Nero in our times. It was granted

both times during the celebration of the Isthmian games, Flaminus had it proclaimed by an herald; but Nero himself declared the Grecians free, and at liberty to be governed by their own laws, in an oration which he made from the rostrum in the public assembly. This happened long after*.

Flaminus next undertook a very just and honourable war against Nabis, the wicked and abandoned tyrant of Lacedæmon; but in this case he disappointed the hopes of Greece. For, though he might have taken him prisoner, he would not; but struck up a league with him, and left Sparta unworthily in bondage! whether it was that he feared, if the war was drawn out to any length, a successor would be sent him from Rome, who would rob him of the glory of it; or whether in his passion for fame, he was jealous of the reputation of Philopæmen: a man who on all occasions had distinguished himself among the Greeks, and in that war particularly had given wonderful proofs both of courage and conduct; insomuch that the Achæans gloried in him as much as in Flaminus, and paid him the same respect in their theatres. This greatly hurt Flaminus; he could not bear that an Arcadian, who had only commanded in some inconsiderable wars upon the confines of his own country, should be held in equal admiration with a Roman consul, who had fought for all Greece. Flaminus, however, did not want apologies for his conduct: for he said, "He put an end to the war, because he saw he could not destroy the tyrant without involving all the Spartans in the mean time in great calamities †."

The Achæans decreed Flaminus many honours, but none seemed equal to his services, unless it were one pre-

* Two hundred and sixty-three years.

† Livy touches upon this reason; but at the same time he mentions others more to the honour of this great man. Winter was now coming on, and the siege of Sparta might have lasted a considerable time. The enemy's country was so exhausted, that it could not supply him with provisions, and it was difficult to get convoys from any other quarter. Besides, Villius was returned from the court of Antiochus, and brought advice that the peace with that prince was not to be depended upon. In fact, he had already entered Europe with a fleet and army more numerous than before. And what forces had they to oppose him, in case of a rupture, if Flaminus continued to employ his in the siege of Sparta? *Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 33, 24.*

sent, which pleased him above all the rest. It was this: the Romans who had the misfortune to be taken prisoners in the war with Hannibal, were sold for slaves, and dispersed in various places. Twelve hundred of them were now in Greece. That sad reverse of fortune made them always unhappy, but now (as might be expected) they were still more so, when they met their sons, their brothers, or their acquaintance, and saw them free while they were slaves, and conquerors while they were captives. Flaminus did not pretend to take them from their masters, though his heart sympathized with their distress. But the Achaeans redeemed them at the rate of five minæ a man, and having collected them together, made Flaminus a present of them, just as he was going on board; so that he set sail with great satisfaction, having found a glorious recompence for his glorious services, a return suitable to a man of such humane sentiments and such a lover of his country. This indeed made the most illustrious part of his triumph. For these poor men got their heads shaved, and wore the cap of liberty, as the custom of slaves is upon their manumission, and in this habit they followed the chariot of Flaminus. But to add to the splendour of the show, there were the Grecian helmets, the Macedonian targets and spears, and the other spoils carried in great pomp before him. And the quantity of money was not small; for, as Itanus relates it, there were carried in this triumph three thousand seven hundred and thirteen pounds of unwrought gold, forty-three thousand two hundred and seventy of silver, fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen pieces of coined gold called Philipics; besides which, Philip owed a thousand talents. But the Romans were afterwards prevailed upon, chiefly by the mediation of Flaminus, to remit this debt; Philip was declared their ally, and his son, who had been with them as an hostage, sent home.

After this Antiochus passed over into Greece with a great fleet and a powerful army, and solicited the states to join him. The Ætolians, who had been a long time ill-affected to the Romans, took his part, and suggested this pretence for the war, that he came to bring the Grecians liberty. The Grecians had no want of it, for they were free already; but, as he had no better cause to assign, they instructed him to cover his attempt with that splendid pretext.

The Romans, fearing on this account, a revolt in Greece, as well as the strength of Antiochus, sent the consul Manius Acilius to command in the war, but appointed Flaminus his lieutenant*, for the sake of his influence in Greece. His appearance there immediately confirmed such as were yet friends, in their fidelity, and prevented those who were wavering from an entire defection. This was effected by the respect they bore him; for it operated like a potent remedy at the beginning of a disease. There were few, indeed, so entirely gained and corrupted by the Ætolians, that his interest did not prevail with them; yet even these, though he was much exasperated against them at present, he saved after the battle. For Antiochus, being defeated at Thermopylae, and forced to fly, immediately embarked for Asia. Upon this, the consul Manius went against some of the Ætolians, and besieged their towns, abandoning others to Philip. Thus great ravages were committed by the Macedonians among the Dolopians and Magnesians on one hand, and among the Athamanians and Aperantians on the other; and Manius himself, having sacked the city of Heraclea, besieged Naupactus, then in the hands of the Ætolians. But Flaminus, being touched with compassion for Greece, went from Peloponnesus to the consul by water. He began with remonstrating, that the consul, though he had won the victory himself, suffered Philip to reap the fruits of it; and that while, to gratify his resentful, he spent his time about one town, the Macedonians were subduing whole provinces and kingdoms. The besieged happened to see Flaminus, called to him from the walls, stretched out their hands, and begged his interposition. He gave them no answer, but turned round and wept, and then immediately withdrew. Afterwards, however, he discoursed with Manius so effectually, that he appeased his anger, and procured the Ætolians a truce, and time to send deputies to Rome, to petition for favourable terms.

But he had much greater difficulties to combat, when he applied to Manius in behalf of the Chalcidians. The consul was highly incensed at them, on account of the

* According to Livy, it was not Titus, but Lucius Quinctius who was appointed lieutenant to Flaminus.

marriage which Antiochus celebrated among them, even after the war was begun ; a marriage every way unsuitable as well as unseasonable ; for he was far advanced in years, and the bride very young. The person he thus fell in love with was daughter to Cleopolemus, and a virgin of incomparable beauty. This match brought the Chalcidians entirely into the king's interest, and they suffered him to make use of their city as a place of arms *. After the battle he fled with great precipitation to Chalcis, and taking with him his young wife, his treasures and his friends, sailed from thence to Asia. And now Manius in his indignation marched directly against Chalcis, Flaminius followed, and endeavoured to appease his resentment. At last he succeeded, by his assiduities with him and the most respectable Romans who were likely to have an influence upon him. The Chalcidians, thus saved from destruction, consecrated the most beautiful and the noblest of their public edifices to Titus Flaminius ; and such inscriptions as these are to be seen upon them to this day : “ The people dedicated this Gymnasium to Titus and Hercules : the people consecrate the Delphinium to Titus and Apollo.” Nay, what is more, even in our days a priest of Titus is formally elected and declared ; and on occasions of sacrifice to him, when the libations are over, they sing an hymn, the greatest part of which for the length of it, I omit, and only give the conclusion :

While Rome's protecting power we prove,
Her faith adore, her virtues love,
Still, as our strains to heaven aspire,
Let Rome and Titus wake the lyre !
To these our grateful altars bide,
And our long psalms pour immortal praise.

The rest of the Grecians conferred upon him all due honours ; and what realized those honours, and added to their lustre, was the extraordinary affection of the people, which he had gained by his lenity and moderation. For if he happened to be at variance with any one, upon account of busness, or about a point of honour, as, for instance, with Philopœmen, and with Diophantus general

* εγειρεται τοι μεταξι μαρτυρια.

of the Achæans, he never gave into malignity, or carried his resentment into action, but let it expire in words, in such expostulations as the freedom of public debates may seem to justify. Indeed no man ever found him vindictive, but he often discovered a haughtiness and passionate turn. Setting this aside, he was the most agreeable man in the world, and a pleasantry mixed with strong sense distinguished his conversation. Thus, to divert the Achæans from their purpose of conquering the island of Zacynthus, he told them, “ It was as dangerous for them to put their heads out of Peloponnesus, as it was for the tortoise to trust his out of his shell.” In the first conference which Philip and he had about peace, Philip taking occasion to say, “ Titus, you come with a numerous retinue, whereas I come quite alone : ” Flaminius answered, “ No wonder if you come alone, for you have killed all your friends and relations.” Dinocrates the Messenian being in company at Rome, drank until he was intoxicated, and then put on a woman’s habit, and danced in that disguise. Next day he applied to Flaminius, and begged his assistance in a design which he had conceived, to withdraw Messene from the Achæan league. Flaminius answered, “ I will consider of it ; but I am surprised that you, who conceived such great designs, can sing and dance at a carousal.” And when the ambassadors of Antiochus represented to the Achæans, how numerous the king’s forces were, and, to make them appear still more so, reckoned them up by all their different names : “ I supped once,” said Flaminius, “ with a friend ; and upon my complaining of the great number of dishes, and expressing my wonder how he could furnish his table with such a vast variety ; be not uneasy about that, said my friend, for it is all hog’s flesh, and the difference is only in the dressing and the sauce. In like manner, I say to you, my Achæan friend, be not astonished at the number of Antiochus’s forces, at these pikemen, these halberdiers and cuirassiers ; for they are all Syrians, only distinguished by the trifling arms they bear.”

After these great actions in Greece, and the conclusion of the war with Antiochus, Flaminius was created censor. This is the chief dignity in the state, and the crown, as it were, of all its honours. He had for colleague the son

of Marcellus, who had been five times consul. They expelled four senators who were men of no great note: and they admitted as citizens all who offered, provided that their parents were free. But they were forced to this by Terentius Culeo, a tribune of the people, who, in opposition to the nobility, procured such orders from the commons. Two of the greatest and most powerful men of those times, Scipio Africanus and Marcus Cato, were then at variance with each other. Flaminius appointed the former of these president of the senate, as the first and best man in the commonwealth; and with the latter he entirely broke, on the following unhappy occasion. Titus had a brother named Lucius Quinctius Flaminius, unlike him in all respects, but quite abandoned in his pleasures, and regardless of decorum. This Lucius had a favourite boy whom he carried with him, even when he commanded armies and governed provinces. One day, as they were drinking, the boy, making his court to Lucius, said, “I love you so tenderly, that preferring your satisfaction to my own, I left a show of gladiators, to come to you, though I have never seen a man killed.” Lucius, delighted with the flattery, made answer, “If that be all, you need not be in the least uneasy, for I shall soon satisfy your longing.” He immediately ordered a convict to be brought from the prison, and having sent for one of his lictors, commanded him to strike off the man’s head, in the room where they were carousing. Valerius Antias writes, that this was done to gratify a mistress. And Livy relates, from Cato’s writings, that a Gaulish deserter being at the door with his wife and children, Lucius took him into the banqueting-room, and killed him with his own hand; but it is probable, that Cato said this, to aggravate the charge. For that the person killed was not a deserter, but a prisoner, and a condemned one too, appears from many writers, and particularly from Cicero, in his Treatise on Old Age, where he introduces Cato himself giving that account of the matter.

Upon this account, Cato, when he was censor, and set himself to remove all obnoxious persons from the senate, expelled Lucius, though he was of consular dignity. His brother thought this proceeding reflected dishonour upon

himself; and they both went into the assembly in the form of suppliants, and besought the people with tears, that Cato might be obliged to assign his reason for fixing such a mark of disgrace upon so illustrious a family. The request appeared reasonable. Cato without the least hesitation came out, and standing up with his colleague, interrogated Titus, whether he knew any thing of that feast. Titus answering in the negative, Cato related the affair, and called upon Lucius to declare upon oath, whether it was not true. As Lucius made no reply, the people determined the vote of infamy to be just, and conducted Cato home with great honour, from the tribunal.

Titus, greatly concerned at his brother's misfortune, leagued with the inveterate enemies of Cato, and gaining a majority in the senate, quashed and annulled all the contracts, leafes, and bargains which Cato had made, relating to the public revenues; and stirred up many and violent prosecutions against him. But I know not whether he acted well, or agreeably to good policy, in thus becoming a mortal enemy to a man who had only done what became a lawful magistrate and a good citizen, for the sake of one who was a relation indeed, but an unworthy one, and who had met with the punishment he deserved. Some time after, however, the people being assembled in the theatres to see the shows, and the senate seated, according to custom, in the most honourable place, Lucius was observed to go in an humble and dejected manner, and sit down upon one of the lowest benches. The people could not bear to see this, but called out to him to go up higher, and ceased not until he went to the consular bench, who made room for him.

The native ambition of Flaminius was applauded, while it found sufficient matter to employ itself upon in the wars we have given account of. And his serving in the army as a tribune, after he had been consul, was regarded with a favourable eye, though no one required it of him. But when he was arrived at an age that excused him from all employments, he was blamed for indulging a violent passion for fame, and a youthful impetuosity in that inactive season of life. To some excess of this kind seems to have been owing to his behaviour with

respect to Hannibal *, at which the world was much offended. For Hannibal having fled his country, took refuge first at the court of Antiochus. But Antiochus, after he had lost the battle of Phrygia, gladly accepting conditions of peace, Hannibal was again forced to fly; and, after wandering through many countries, at length settled in Bithynia, and put himself under the protection of Prusias. The Romans knew this perfectly well, but they took no notice of it, considering him now as a man enfeebled by age, and overthrown by fortune. But Flaminius, being sent by the senate upon an embassy to Prusias about other matters, and seeing Hannibal at his court, could not endure that he should be suffered to live. And though Prusias used much intercession and entreaty in behalf of a man who came to him as a suppliant, and lived with him under the sanction of hospitality, he could not prevail.

It seems there was an ancient oracle, which thus prophesied concerning the end of Hannibal,

Libyssan earth shall hide the bones of Hannibal.

He therefore thought of nothing but ending his days at Carthage, and being buried in Lybia. But in Bithynia there is a sandy place near the sea, which has a small village in it called Libyssa. In this neighbourhood Hannibal lived. But having always been apprised of the timidity of Prusias, and distrusting him on that account, and dreading withal the attempts of the Romans, he had some time before ordered several subterraneous passages to be dug under his house; which were continued a great way under ground, and terminated in several different places, but were all undiscernible without. As soon as he was informed of the orders which Flaminius had given, he attempted to make his escape by those passages;

* Flaminius was no more than forty four years of age, when he went ambassador to Prusias. It was not therefore an unseasonable desire of a public character, or extravagant passion for fame, which was blamed in him on this occasion, but an unworthy persecution of a great, though unfortunate man. We are inclined however to think, that he had secret instructions from the senate for what he did: for it is not probable that a man of his mild and humane disposition would choose to hunt down an old unhappy warrior; and Plutarch confirms this opinion afterwards.

but finding the king's guards at the outlets, he resolved to kill himself. Some say, he wound his cloak about his neck, and ordered his servant to put his knees upon his back, and pull with all his force, and not to leave twitting till he had quite strangled him. Others tell us, that, like Themistocles and Midas, he drank bull's blood. But Livy writes, that having poison in readiness, he mixed it for a draught; and taking the cup in his hand,
" Let us deliver the Romans," said he, " from their cares
" and anxieties, since they think it too tedious and dan-
" gerous to wait for the death of a poor hated old man.
" Yet shall not Titus gain a conquest worth envying, or
" suitable to the generous proceedings of his ancestors,
" who sent to caution Pyrrhus, though a victorious en-
"emy, against the poison that was prepared for him."

Thus Hannibal is said to have died. When the news was brought to the senate, many in that august body were highly displeased. Flaminus appeared too officious and cruel in his precautions, to procure the death of Hannibal, now tamed by his misfortunes, like a bird that through age had lost its tail and feathers, and suffered to live so. And as he had no orders to put him to death, it was plain that he did it out of a passion for fame, and to be mentioned in aftertimes as the destroyer of Hannibal*. On this occasion they recollect ed and admired more than ever, the humane and generous behaviour of Scipio Africanus; for when he had vanquished Hannibal in Africa, at a time when he was extremely formidable, and deemed invincible, he neither insisted on his banishment, nor demanded him of his fellow-citizens; but, as he had embraced him at the conference which he had with him before the battle; so, after it, when he settled the conditions of peace, he offered not the least affront or insult to his misfortunes.

It is reported that they met again at Ephesus, and Hannibal, as they walked together, taking the upper hand, Africanus suffered it, and walked on without the least concern. Afterwards they fell into conversation

* If this was really the motive of Flaminus, and nothing of a political tendency entered into this dastardly destruction of that great general, it would hardly be possible for all the virtues, all the triumphs of the Romans, to redeem him from the infamy of so base an action.

about great generals, and Hannibal asserted that Alexander was the greatest general the world had ever seen, that Pyrrhus was the second, and himself the third. Scipio smiled at this, and said, "But what rank would you have placed yourself in, if I had not conquered you?" "O, Scipio!" said he, "then I would not have placed myself the third, but the first."

The generality admiring this moderation of Scipio, found the greater fault with Flaminus for taking the spoils of an enemy, whom another man had slain. There were some indeed, who applauded the thing, and observed, "That while Hannibal lived, they must have looked upon him as a fire, which wanted only to be blown into a flame. That when he was in the vigour of his age, it was not his bodily strength or his right hand which was so dreadful to the Romans, but his capacity and experience, together with his innate rancour and hatred to their name. And that these are not altered by age; for the native disposition still overrules the manners; whereas fortune, far from remaining the same, changes continually, and by new hopes invites those to new enterprises who were ever at war with us in their hearts." And the subsequent events contributed still more to the justification of Flaminus. For, in the first place, Aristonicus, the son of a harper's daughter, on the strength of his being reputed the natural son of Eu'menes, filled all Asia with tumult and rebellion: and in the next place, Mithridates, after such strokes as he had met with from Sylla and Fimbria, and so terrible a destruction among his troops and officers, rose up stronger than ever against Lucullus, both by sea and land. Indeed, Hannibal was never brought so low as Caius Marius had been. For Hannibal enjoyed the friendship of a king, from whom he received liberal supplies, and with whose officers, both in the navy and army, he had important connections; whereas Marius was a wanderer in Africa, and forced to beg his bread. But the Romans, who had laughed at his fall, soon after bled, in their own streets, under his rods and axes, and prostrated themselves before him. So true it is, that there is nothing either great or little at this moment, which is sure to hold so in the days to come; and that the changes we have to experience, only terminate with our lives.

For this reason, some tell us, that Flaminus did not do this of himself, but that he was joined in commission with Lucius Scipio, and that the sole purpose of their embassy, was to procure the death of Hannibal. As we have no account after this, of any political or military act of Flaminus, and only know that he died in his bed, it is time to come to the comparison.

FLAMINIUS AND PHILOPOEMEN COMPARED.

If we consider the extensive benefits which Greece received from Flaminus, we shall find that neither Philopœmen, nor other Grecians more illustrious than Philopœmen, will stand the comparison with him. For the Greeks always fought against Greeks; but Flaminus, who was not of Greece, fought for that country. And at a time when Philopœmen, unable to defend his fellow citizens who were engaged in a dangerous war, passed over into Crete, Flaminus having vanquished Philip in the heart of Greece, set cities and whole nations free. If we examine into their battles, it will appear, that Philopœmen, while he commanded the Achaean forces, killed more Greeks, than Flaminus, in asserting the Grecian cause, killed Macedonians.

As to their failings, ambition was the fault of Flaminus, and obstinacy that of Philopœmen. The former was passionate and the latter implacable. Flaminus left Philip in his royal dignity, and pardoned the Etolians: whereas Philopœmen, in his resentment against his country, robbed her of several of her dependencies. Besides, Flaminus was always a firm friend to those whom he had once served; but Philopœmen was ever ready to destroy the merit of his former kindnesses, only to indulge his anger. For he had been a great benefactor to the Lacedaemonians; yet afterwards he demolished their walls, and ravaged their country; and in the end entirely changed and overturned their constitution. Nay, he seems to have sacrificed his life to his passion and perverseness, by too hastily and unseasonably invading Messenia; in-

stead of taking, like Flaminus, every precaution for his own security and that of his troops.

But Philopœmen's military knowledge and experience was perfected by his many wars and victories. And, whereas Flaminus decided his dispute with Philip in two engagements ; Philopœmen, by conquering in an incredible number of battles, left fortune no room to question his skill.

Flaminus, moreover, availed himself of the power of a great and flourishing commonwealth, and raised himself by its strength ; but Philopœmen distinguished himself at a time when his country was upon the decline. So that the success of the one is to be ascribed solely to himself, and that of the other to all the Romans. The one had good troops to command ; and the other made those so which he commanded. And though the great actions of Philopœmen, being performed against Greeks, do not prove him a fortunate man, yet they prove him a brave man. For, where all other things are equal, great success must be owing to superior excellence. He had to do with two of the most warlike nations among the Greeks ; the Cretans, who were the most artful ; and the Lacedæmonians, who were the most valiant : and yet he mastered the former by policy, and the latter by courage. Add to this, that Flaminus had his men ready armed and disciplined to his hand ; whereas Philopœmen had the armour of his to alter, and to new-model their discipline. So that the things which contribute most to victory, were the invention of the one, while the other only practised what was already in use. Accordingly Philopœmen's personal exploits were many and great ; but we find nothing of that kind remarkable in Flaminus. On the contrary, a certain Ætolian, said, by way of raillery, “ Whilſt I ran* , with my drawn sword, to charge the “ Macedonians, who stood firm and continued fighting, “ Titus was standing still, with his hands lifted up towards “ heaven, and praying.”

It is true all acts of Flaminus were glorious, while he was general, and during his lieutenancy too ; but

* The former translator makes the Ætolian say this of Philopœmen ; but the original will not bear it. In that case, the Greek, instead of *ως ὅτε αὐτος*, *κ. τ. λ.* would have run *ὅτε ἔτεινες*.

Philopœmen showed himself no less serviceable and active among the Achæans, when in a private capacity, than when he had the command. For, when commander in chief, he drove Nabis out of the city of Messene, and restored the inhabitants to their liberty ; but he was only in a private station, when he shut the gates of Sparta against the general Diophanes, and against Flaminius, and by that means saved the Lacedæmonians. Indeed, nature had given him such talents for command, that he knew, not only how to govern according to the laws, but how to govern the laws themselves, when the public good required it ; not waiting for the formality of the people's appointing him, but rather employing them, when the occasion demanded it. For he was persuaded, that, not he whom the people elect, but he who thinks best for the people, is the true general.

There was undoubtedly something great and generous in the clemency and humanity of Flaminius towards the Grecians ; but there was something still greater and more generous in the resolution which Philopœmen showed in maintaining the liberties of Greece against the Romans. For it is a much easier matter to be liberal to the weak, than to oppose and to support a dispute with the strong. Since, therefore, after all our inquiry into the characters of these two great men, the superiority is not obvious, perhaps we shall not greatly err, if we give the Grecian the palm of generalship and military skill, and the Roman that of justice and humanity.

